Palestine exploration quarterly

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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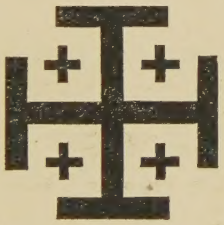
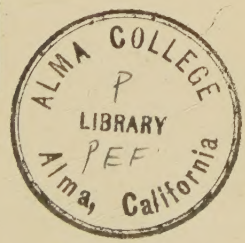
Quarterly Statement

FOR 1923.





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THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

DIED

On the 2nd November, 1922,

GEORGE BUCHANAN GRAY,

D.D., D.Litt., Mansfield College. Oxford.

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

IT is with profound regret that we have to announce the tragically sudden death of Dr. George Buchanan Gray, for many years a member of the Executive Committee, and Acting-Chairman of the Fund, during the illness of the late Dr. L. W. King, from October, 1918, until the appointment of Dr. Hogarth in October of the following year. A short obituary appears on another page (p. 9).

An old and valued friend of the Fund passed away on September 8th, in the person of Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A. He joined the Committee in 1890, and devoted considerable time and labour to the unique plates in the *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa*, published by the Fund in 1905. He was well-known as a keen archaeologist, a pioneer in the study of Hittite hieroglyphs, a prominent Freemason, a member of the Royal Irish Academy, and Chairman of the Harleian. He was for many years secretary of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, and the whole life and soul of that most valuable but now unhappily defunct body.

We have also to record the death of Dr. James Hastings, of the General Committee, editor of the *Expository Times*, and famous throughout the biblical world for the many great series of biblical, theological and expository works which he successfully edited. In his *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, above all, he was responsible for a really unique collection of material, an unprecedented store-house of data and discussion which makes a landmark in the study of the religion, ethics and philosophy of mankind.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

WE publish in this issue an article on the "Hill Ophel" which calls attention to the great and unique offer which the Government of Palestine is making to archaeologists. For biblical students, no such opportunity has ever been open of investigating a site of such assured interest. While other nations are invited to co-operate, and it is hoped that in Great Britain other Societies will assist, the British interests will be officially represented by the Palestine Exploration Fund—if they can rise to their opportunities. Certain Regulations have been drawn up by the Department of Antiquities for the conduct of the work. These have been submitted to the co-operating bodies for their criticism, and we have to point out that there is one Article which is certain to be adopted, namely, that no work will be permitted at this wonderful site until a sum of *at least* £5,000 is guaranteed for the work of excavation. The members of the Executive Committee are agreed that this proposal is a wise one, as nothing would be more unfortunate than to irretrievably damage the site by a scrappy and slipshod excavation. This would be entirely harmful and would destroy priceless archaeological evidence. Probably at least this sum will be needed *annually* for three years or more, but this will not all be needed for the Palestine Exploration Fund. If this Society, aided by other British Archaeological Societies, could guarantee £5,000 spread over three years for their special share in the work, probably the other Societies together would make up the other £10,000. But as the premier Society of its kind in the land, and as representing Great Britain, the holder of the mandate, we should, if possible, give a lead. Nothing should be left undone if we are to maintain the position we have hitherto held. With our present commitments our annual subscriptions will not enable the Executive Committee to guarantee more than a quarter of this sum, and that too spread over two or three years. They therefore most earnestly appeal to the members of the Society to make a supreme effort to raise the necessary guarantee to enable the work to begin this coming season.

If funds are available, the Committee are most anxious to have their own Director of Excavations on the spot, and the position the British Archaeology is to take in this work will depend very largely upon what the Society can contribute in money and in personnel. If funds make it possible for the work to begin this spring, the Executive Committee hope to be able to secure the services of one very well-known as a Biblical Archaeologist for the coming season, on very generous terms. If this is to be assayed, no time must be lost in settling the guarantee.

The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy were delivered by Dr. I. Abrahams, Reader in Rabbinic at the University of Cambridge, at the Rooms of the Royal Society on December 14th, 18th and 19th. Dr. Abrahams chose as his subject, "Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great." The lectures were well attended and were listened to with sustained interest throughout. All those who heard them will look forward to seeing them in their more detailed and extended form when published. They are an important contribution to the history of Palestine.

In this number, Mr. Phythian-Adams describes the results of his soundings at Gaza. Many items of interest and importance are recorded, and the old problem of the "desert" of Gaza is reconsidered. The attention of our readers is specially drawn to his reports.

The following extracts upon antiquities in Palestine are taken from the "officially communicated" paragraphs in *The Palestine Weekly* of October 8th and November 10th :—

"The digging up of ancient buildings for worked stone affecting Caesarea, Tell Barak, Kurbet-el-Raseiseh, Samaria, and Jericho, has been stopped, and offenders punished.

"The fountain, 'Sebil abu Nebbut,' at Jaffa has been repaired by the Wakf authority. The dome of the fine Saracenic building, now used as prison and police headquarters at Gaza, has been repaired and plant growth removed.

"Over 60 ancient sites have been examined in the coast district between Jaffa and Athlit, and in the passes lying between Esdraelon and the coast. Principal observations are :—

"Athlit—ancient salt working, including masonry basins, canals, and sluices.

"Tell Barak—fine sculptured lid of a sarcophagus in marble, of Roman date.

"The Department of Antiquities has co-operated with the French École Biblique in obtaining a full set of squeezes of the historical Arabic inscriptions at Hebron, including those in the Haram and those in the Mosque of Sheikh Ali Bekka.

"At Beisan, Dr. Fisher has resumed work on the acropolis, and is now preparing to remove a Byzantine level two metres thick in order to lay bare the earlier Roman works below."

"The Department of Antiquities has arranged with the Pennsylvania Expedition to contribute towards the repair of a house to be used by Dr. Fisher during his excavations at Beisan, and afterwards to become the property of the Department as a local museum and guard house.

"A group of tombs, excavated on the property of Mr. Aziz Khayat to the south-east of Haifa, proved to belong to the Early Iron Age, *c.* 800 B.C., and are probably to be connected with Tell abu Huwam. Some of the pottery indicate relations with Cyprus.

"A group of Roman and Byzantine date at the point of Carmel and close to Tell es-Semak (Sycaminon) was also explored. Several have been cleared and made accessible to visitors, and a hinged and a rolling stone door restored to their original positions.

"The foundations of a small Byzantine church, built over a sepulchral chamber, have been laid bare by the Italian Agricultural School, Beit Jemal.

"Roman roads radiating from Beisan have been traced, and several mile-stones found.

"There is a marked increase in the importation of antiquities—especially Roman glass—from Syria and the Hauran. Most of this glass is re-exported to America."

In Jerusalem itself, the Pro-Jerusalem Society has devoted itself to the clearing of the Citadel and the Rampart Walk, and it is stated that the Post Office Square is to be taken in hand, and made more shapely.

Owing to the demands upon our space, we are obliged to hold over various notes and reviews; in particular, a notice of the new and important work by Dr. Jacob Mann on "The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs." Here, chiefly from

hitherto unpublished Genizah material, Dr. Mann has collected much valuable information which illumines conditions in Palestine during the period in question. Another small object forwarded by Mr. Raffaeli is also held over.

Subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund may be interested to hear that the Fund have acquired the remaining copies of *Jérusalem sous Terre*, written by Father Vincent, and published at the Office of the *Field* Newspaper. This work is profusely illustrated by plans and photographs, and giving as it does a full archaeological review of the excavations in the hill "Ophel," conducted by the Hon. Montague B. Parker, is essential to all those who make a scientific study of the Holy City. The Fund is disposing of these—there are only a few copies left—at 5*s.* per copy, or 6*s.* post free.

Subscribers will recollect that the map of the Negeb or Wilderness of Zin, which should have accompanied the 1914–15 Annual, had then to be withheld from publication owing to the War. The Committee are glad to announce that the map has now been prepared for the Fund by the War Office, and a copy will be supplied gratis to those Members desirous of procuring it to complete their record of the 1914 Survey. Applications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

Photo-relief map of Palestine: This popular little map, which is reproduced by collotype process from the well-known raised maps, has been reprinted and is now on sale. It measures (with margin) 29 × 19 inches and contains some hundreds of Biblical names. The price to subscribers is 2*s.* 6*d.*, and to non-subscribers 3*s.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 6–8.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special donations :—

	£	s.	d.
George Mathieson, Esq.	10	0	0
Miss M. Chambers Hodgetts	5	5	0
J. R. Barlow, Esq.	5	0	0

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee beg to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

From Miss Wilson (daughter of the late Sir Charles Wilson) :—A set of the *Quarterly Statements Annuals*, I, II, and III ; Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, 1865 ; three volumes of Notes, Plans and Photographs ; Ordnance Survey of Sinai, 1869 ; five volumes of Notes, Plans and Photographs.

From Mrs. F. T. Ellis :—Three Russian Engravings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—(The Entrance, Chapel of St. Helena, and the Calvary). These are nicely framed, and a welcome addition to the walls of the Museum.

The Committee have also to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Near East : A weekly review of politics, etc. ; letters from Palestine, etc.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, July, 1922 : The Mission of Esdras, by E. J. Kissane.

The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs, Vols. I and II, by Jacob Mann, M.A., D.Lit. (Oxford Press, 1922).

The Expository Times, Oct. : The Amorite king Humbaba, by Prof. Clay.

Bible Lands.

American Journal of Archaeology, July–Sept.

The Jewish Quarterly Review.

Summary of Events of Jewish Interest, Vol. II, No. 1, June–Aug., 1922.

Palestine.

The Zionist Review.

The Homiletic Review, Sept. : Syria in Christian Archaeology.

Art and Archaeology.

Selected Temple Accounts from Telloh, Yokha and Drehem : Cuneiform Tablets in the Library of Princeton University, by E. Chiera, Ph.D.

Jewish Quarterly Review, July : Review by S. Cohen of Reports by the Committee on Palestinian Sanitation.

A Treatise on the Construction, Completion and Dedication of King Solomon's Temple. Prepared by Chas. A. Conover, Grand Secretary, Coldwater, Michigan.

Journal of American Oriental Society, XLII, 1–2 : The Babylonian Practice of Marking Slaves, by R. A. Brooks.

Friend's Witness, XV, 1922.

The Hebrew Christian Alliance Quarterly.

Les Hébreux en Egypte, by Alexis Mallon, S.I., Rome, 1921.

Revue Biblique, Oct. : Égyptiens et Hébreux, by Gustave Lefebvre ; un type de baptistère byzantin, by R. P. Vincent ; quelques monuments mégalithiques en Palestine, by R. P. Abel.

Journal Asiatique, April–June : On the Story of Ahikar, by M. F. Nau ; Magical Arab Alphabets, by M. M. Delafosse.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1917–19, 1922.

Biblica, Oct. : Note on the Hebrew Inscription of Alma, by E. Burrows ; Chronique Palestinienne, by A. Mallon.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.

Palästinajahrbuch, by Gustaf Dalman, 8 vols., 1914–21.

Das Grab Christi in Deutschland, by Prof. Gustaf Dalman, Leipzig, 1922.

Palestine Weekly, Nov. 3 : Palestinian Health : Ophthalmic Section.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ, Aug. : The City of David and the Diggings in 1913 14.

Al-Mashrīḳ, Oct.: Une Visite à Sheikh 'Adi et à Rabban Hormuzd, by the Abbé Salamon Sayegh; Antiquités Arabes à Damas, by Mag. J. Elian Sarkis, etc.; Nov.: La découverte récente d'une ancienne Croix chrétienne dans une pagode chinoise, by P. L. Cheikho, S.J.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

Prof. Flinders Petrie's *Tell el-Hesy* (*Lachish*).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener.*

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of ____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

GEORGE BUCHANAN GRAY, D.D., D.Litt., Mansfield College, Oxford.

THE LATE Dr. GEORGE BUCHANAN GRAY.

The late Dr. G. B. Gray was born at Blandford, Dorset, on January 13th, 1865. He was educated at New College and University College, London, studied abroad at Marburg, and proceeded to Mansfield College, Oxford, where he obtained all the Hebrew and Semitic honours. Appointed teacher at Mansfield, he became a member of the Independent Ministry in 1893, and in due course was a zealous member of the Council of Mansfield Settlement in Canning Town. Making friends everywhere by his true Christian courtesy and sincerity, he speedily established a reputation for sound scholarship which made him looked up to as the most active and thorough of contemporary Hebraists and biblical scholars.

Already in 1896 he made his mark by the expansion of a University Prize Essay on "Hebrew Proper Names," in which he showed how this apparently barren, or at least academic, subject was of the first importance for the deeper study of biblical problems. His commentaries in the International Critical Commentary Series were on all sides regarded as patterns of patient learning and good judgment, and an extensive work on "Hebrew Poetry" (1915) is only one of many examples of his breadth and versatility. Numerous articles in Oriental and theological journals and in Bible dictionaries and encyclopaedias testify to his untiring zeal, and it is no exaggeration to say that his pen illuminated everything to which it was turned. This is not the place for any minute account of his literary labours, but it may be said, as an illustration of the confidence he engendered, that one of the last of his activities was to write, for the "Cambridge Ancient History," a series of sections on the early history of the Persian Empire. Recognising that this subject required a scholar who could use the published sources with independence, one, too, who had a broad knowledge of ancient Oriental life and thought, the editors applied to Dr. Gray, who was able practically to complete the work before his tragically sudden death.

Among his various distinctions was that of Honorary D.D., which was conferred upon him by the University of Aberdeen. He was

able, despite the many demands upon his time, to serve as a member of the Executive Committee from 1906 onwards, and, as already mentioned above (p. 1), he acted as Chairman during the long illness of Dr. King, from October, 1918, until Dr. Hogarth was appointed Chairman on October 9th, 1919. Here as elsewhere he at once made himself felt by his integrity and sturdy common-sense. He was one upon whose opinion one could rely, and, as many of his friends know, "What does Gray think?" was the question invariably put before one embarked further upon any plan. That he will be missed by all who had come to know and appreciate him need hardly be said. Scholarship is the poorer by the premature loss of a man who represented all that was best in research; and though we mourn his death, we feel that he set a standard of energy and conscientiousness at which we have to aim.

Dr. Masterman writes of his first meeting with Dr. Gray when travelling east of the Jordan. "Our friendship so formed continued until the end. His visit to Palestine inspired in him a keenness which I knew well, and caused me to suggest his name as a member of the Executive Committee. We all know how active and valued a member of the Committee he has been."

REPORTS ON SOUNDINGS AT GAZA, Etc.

By W. J. Phythian-Adams, M.A., D.S.O., M.C.

I.

Work on this site was started on October 5th and has already made good progress; indeed, another day or two should see the end of our soundings and set us free for operations elsewhere.

It may be useful at this stage to describe the scope of our programme and our intentions in framing it. The last season's work at Askalon, more especially that part of it devoted to the study of stratification on the sea cliff, left us with a mass of pottery (almost entirely fragmentary) which we have been studying during the winter of 1921. A full report on these sherds will follow in due course, and it is therefore only necessary to say here that we found ourselves confronted by several interesting problems as to date and culture. Certain types of vase well known to be Cypriote disappeared above a well-defined level and were replaced by pottery showing new forms and, in many respects, a new technique. To what events could this change be attributed? Was it a proof of Philistine invasion?

This question could not be answered by the examination of a single site, and although the evidence of other cities and, notably, of Beth Shemesh, seemed to confirm the apparent story of Askalon, it was impossible to feel satisfied on the subject until some effort had been made to investigate the sites which lay to the south of that town and might be supposed to mark the Philistine frontier. If these sites corroborated the evidence of Askalon, the chances of error would be greatly reduced, and we might without further hesitation apply the name Philistine to a definite culture and to the strata to which it belonged.

It was agreed, then, that the season of 1922 should be devoted to sounding sites in the south of Palestine. Experience had shown that this could be done at very small expense and with thoroughly satisfactory results by the method of cutting a trench in the side of the site and studying the layers on a systematic basis. The mounds which seemed to call for first attention were those of Gaza itself and of one or other of the great Tells which lie along the Wady

Ghuzzeh. It will be seen by a study of the map that this Wady, with the Wady Sheria and the Wady Saba, forms a well-defined boundary beween Palestine and the south. Two of the mounds which seem to act as sentinels on this frontier possess a potential importance so far unconfirmed and therefore all the more in need of examination. They are Tell Esh Sheria and Tell Jemmeh. The first of these has been tentatively identified with the Sharuhen of Joshua xix, 6, and if, as seems probable, this city is identical with the Sharuhen which formed the last refuge of the fleeing Hyksos, its importance cannot be exaggerated. The second perhaps may be found to possess a still greater interest. The history of Tell Jemmeh is yet unknown, but the close proximity of the late Roman or Byzantine ruins known as Khurbet Umm Jerar suggests very forcibly that we have here another instance of the removal of a place name from an ancient to a more recent site. If this be the case, Tell Jemmeh is none other than the Gerar of Abimelech and Phicol (Genesis xx and xxvi), and its exploration may solve many disputed problems.

The original intention of this expedition was to examine all three of these ancient sites, but it has become clear that the sounding of Tell Esh Sheria must for the moment be deferred, although it may be possible to find time for the work in the coming winter. It has been decided, therefore, to confine our attention to Gaza and Tell Jemmeh, or, if the latter prove insignificant, to Tell Ajjul, which stands between it and the sea.

Our work at Gaza, as has been said, is already approaching its end, and a brief preliminary report is therefore possible.

The most important fact about the site is, unfortunately, a disappointing one. It is far too large for a minor sounding operation, and between this and the scope of a successful excavation there is a gulf larger perhaps than can be found in any Palestinian site. Unlike Askalon, Gaza possesses no perpendicular cliff at which the courses of its history were abruptly checked and where they can be studied to-day free from the *débris* which has drifted or fallen upon them. It takes about fifty minutes to walk round the Tell of Gaza (the central mound of Askalon could be lost inside it), and wherever its rim is not crowned with houses, or graveyards, it is covered with a dense mass of Roman and Byzantine *débris*. Only at one spot, that selected for our sounding, is there any prospect of a really successful dig, and even this, as we have now

discovered, has its own very restricted limitations. To penetrate to the heart of the ancient city requires excavation on a very large scale. Soundings, however extended, will have no effect on this enormous mound. The above explanation is required by the astonishing paucity of painted or decorated pottery which we have brought to light in our trench. Where the superficial scarping done in our first season at Askalon brought us quantities of these sherds belonging to every period of the city's history, our trench at Gaza, four metres wide and now some five to six metres deep, has revealed practically nothing but fragments of the coarse types of vases: of painted fabrics there is almost a complete absence. What makes this fact still more curious is the proximity of the ancient mud-brick city wall to which Professor Garstang drew attention in a previous number of the *Quarterly Statement*. The *débris* from its foot might naturally be expected to yield large quantities of the finer wares, yet the fact remains that it has not done so, and we can only infer either that we have struck the mound at an unlucky spot or that the better class houses are buried well within its periphery. This having been said, we can turn briefly to more positive results.

Our chief discovery was that of a rude stone glacis which ran obliquely into the Tell and apparently abutted upon some portion of the main wall. This glacis was only "skin deep," and if it was really intended for defensive purposes can hardly have proved satisfactory, since an active man would find no difficulty in scaling its rough surface. The pottery found in connection with it shows, however, that it belonged to a decadent period in the city's Philistine history, a period which seems to have closed with disaster and to have brought, at any rate on part of the site, desolation and perhaps total abandonment. The main wall itself was an extension of an earlier and much finer rampart, the remains of which can be seen in an adjoining Turkish bomb shelter, and this in turn was an addition to a pre-existing wall, the date of which is still uncertain.

It is too early to speak of the evidence from ceramic types, but it is tempting to infer that the main Bronze Age deposits are to be found much further inside the Tell and that the present scarp has been formed by many centuries of Early Iron Age (or Philistine) occupation, which advanced in culture up to the period of the last wall and then fell abruptly into decay. Above the *débris* of these centuries are enormous masses of Roman and Byzantine sherds and a few scattered fragments of Hellenistic date.

The history of Gaza is bound up with that of the adjacent seaport which for several centuries usurped its importance and, it would seem, at times its very name. The ruins are visible on the low sandstone cliffs some twenty minutes north of the modern jetty. They extend for about half a mile, and the moles of the little harbour can still be traced among the rocks. Abundant remains of black glazed Greek wares indicate the date at which this city began its history, and quantities of Byzantine fragments bear witness to its duration and the period which saw its close. The whole site calls for a thorough examination, which time unfortunately will not permit us to make. The rubbish heaps alone will probably well reward the excavator, and they can be turned over at a trifling cost.

Gaza, 15*th October*, 1922.

II.

Note on Liblakhiyeh, Anthedon, and Maiumas Gaza.

Twenty-five minutes' ride north of Gaza jetty will bring the traveller to a line of lofty cliffs rising abruptly from the low sandy hillocks which usually fringe the coast. For a distance of about half a mile these cliffs are covered with fragments of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine pottery, while in many places the ruins of mud-brick walls stand out conspicuously from their face.

Having been told by the Governor of Gaza that such a place existed, we made use of two of our holidays to pay it a visit, and our efforts were well rewarded. We soon discovered that what appeared to be a single site was in reality two, or at any rate that the northern portion (with a frontage equal to about one-third of the whole) had not been occupied till Roman times, while the major part must be dated back to Alexander the Great, or even earlier. Both sites ended their existence some time in the Byzantine period.

The Greek city boasted a small but apparently well-protected harbour (part of the ruined mole can still be seen above water), but whether the Roman and Byzantine town made use of this or built one of its own further north must remain for the moment uncertain, for on both our visits the sea was too rough to make investigation possible. An old fisherman who happened to be on the spot assured us that there was a second port here, but his gestures were

so vague and comprehensive that we hesitated to believe him. He did, however, volunteer one piece of interesting information, which is all the more valuable because it was not given in reply to any leading questions on our part. Inspired by hopes of a cigarette he led us to the ruin of a well-plastered wall, and while we were examining it informed us that the place was called *Khurbet es-Sur* (the "Ruin of the Wall"). It appears that this is a common name among the Palestinians for any ruin where the remains of a wall can be seen, for Guérin was given the same name for a site lying between Gaza jetty and the Wady Ghuzzeh, but our interest was fully aroused when our informant went on to tell us that the place was also called Ghuzzeh (Gaza). We asked him whether he meant by this the whole site, including the lofty cliff to the south; but he denied this energetically. The lofty cliff was called Liblakhiyeh, the northern portion of the site only was called Ghuzzeh. It was also known, he added casually, as Tidah. We had been waiting for this last name, wondering why it had not occurred to him before, for it has long been known that this site, or part of it, was the old Anthedon, since called Tadun, and to-day Tidah. Once more we enquired whether by this he meant the whole or only a part of the ruins, and once more he excluded the lofty cliff, repeating with some signs of impatience at our denseness that the cliff was Liblakhiyeh, and the portion north of it Tidah. On our way home we sounded our donkey-man, who had not been present at this conversation, and the information he gave us agreed exactly with that of the old man, though he did not know the name of Ghuzzeh in connection with the site. He was, however, quite certain that the lofty cliff was Liblakhiyeh, and the lower hills to the north of it Tidah, and as he was a man of more than usual intelligence his evidence can be received without suspicion. To make absolutely certain of the facts we induced him to write the name Liblakhiyeh in one of our pocket books, and he did so thus لبلاخية.

The position of Maiumas Gaza has been so long disputed that it is a relief to find some definite evidence for it at last. That it could have been at the site of the present jetty no one who has seen the place could imagine for a minute, but whether it was to the north or south of it was a point which could not be decided.[1]

[1] *Note.*—The identification of our site with Maiumas has not, however, as Père Vincent very kindly tells me, escaped the penetrating eye of the learned Fathers of St. Étienne.

The evidence of Sozomen is here extremely valuable, and Guérin, who examined it at some length, has unconsciously concealed its importance by not quoting the most relevant passage in full. He shows that according to Sozomen both Anthedon and Constantia (Maiumas Gaza) lay about 20 stades from Gaza (*Ecclesiastical History*, V, 3, V, 9), but he does not realise that they must also have been practically side by side. Sozomen relates (*op. cit.*, V, 9) that the Christian Martyr Zeno having escaped from Gaza took refuge in Anthedon, "a maritime city favourable to paganism and devoted to idolatry. When the inhabitants of the city discovered that he was a Christian they beat him terribly on the back with rods and drove him out of the city. *He then fled to the harbour of Gaza and concealed himself.*" It is, of course, not impossible that Zeno after his scourging should have managed to crawl to a refuge situated at some distance from Anthedon, but it is, to say the least, highly improbable, while the story of his finding a place of concealment in Maiumas becomes readily intelligible when we realise that it lay at the very gates of the other town. The fact that one was Christian and the other Pagan leads to their being treated separately by Sozomen, who borrowed his facts from the works of others and may himself have been ignorant of their true position. The reference to the idolatry of Anthedon should be specially noted.[1]

Strabo (XVI, 2, 30) says that the "harbour of the Gazaei" was "near" Askalon. We have seen that the northern portion of our site, which still bears the name of Gaza, began its existence in Roman times. It is therefore more probable that Strabo's "harbour of the Gazaei" is the same as the later Maiumas or Constantia than that the two were distinct; but in any case, it is very unlikely that the harbour of the Gazaei should have lain further to the north than Maiumas, and if it lay to the south Strabo's statement is still more valuable as evidence.

To sum up, it appears that the favourable nature of the coast at this point in the first place attracted Greek settlers, who found here one of the few places in Palestine where they could build a harbour. At some time during the first century of our era when (on the theory developed on pp. 30 sqq.) the old site of Gaza was re-occupied and it became necessary to find a port for it, the fact that this was the only suitable spot drew the Gazaeans in their

[1] See the note on p. 17.

turn to Anthedon. That they did not coalesce with the people of that city was perhaps due to some city jealousy or commercial rivalry of which we know nothing; in any case, history assures us that Maiumas and Anthedon maintained an entirely separate existence, and with this statement we must for the moment rest content.[1]

[1] [As regards the name Liblakhiyeh, which is spelt by Gatt and others el-Blakhiyeh (*Zeit. d. Deutschen Paläst.-Vereins*, VII, 1884, pp. 5–7), we may note the apparent resemblance to the name of the Lake el-Balākh, in Upper Egypt, and el-Belīkh, a tributary of the Euphrates. But here the name is applied to a lofty cliff, and this fact is also a difficulty in the way of the ingenious suggestion, by Mr. Phythian-Adams, that the word is a corruption of some such term as the Greek *Limne iera*, "sacred lake." As he points out, the sacred lake of the goddess Derceto was, according to Diodorus Siculus (II, 4), "not far" from Askalon, and Strabo, as already noticed above, says that the harbour of the Gazaei was "near" Askalon. The distance between Askalon and Gaza is therefore no objection to the view that the "sacred lake" was outside Gaza. But, not to speak of the philological difficulty, the application of the name Liblakhiyeh to the cliff has to be taken into account. If the form given by Gatt is original, we may compare the converse, el-Mîneh, as the modern form of the old Limena, the name of the port in Julian the Apostate (as pointed out by Dr. Masterman, see *Memoirs*, P.E.F., Vol. III, p. 256). On the other hand, as Dr. Hall observes, the word, if it is not a corruption of some Greek name in *-εια*, is apparently an adjectival form of Liblakh or the like. In any event, Mr. Phythian-Adams, with his new material, raises in a new form a difficult little problem upon which fresh light is much to be desired.—*Ed.*]

SECOND REPORT ON SOUNDINGS AT GAZA.

By W. J. Phythian-Adams.

The spot selected for our Soundings is situated in the middle of the northern scarp of the mound on which Gaza stands. The choice of sites is strictly limited, for there are only a few hundred

Liblakhiyeh, from the South.

yards of the total circumference of the Tell which are not encumbered with buildings or overwhelmed with masses of recently deposited rubbish. Nevertheless, the determining factor in this case was the presence of the ancient mud-brick walls which were reported by Prof. Garstang in the *Quarterly Statement* (1920, p. 156). The scarp on this side of the city was used by the Turks to provide bomb-proof shelters for their ammunition, and there are in all five such dug-outs, which proved very useful to us in determining the stratification of the mound. The relation of our Main Cut to the Cave which contained the walls is shown clearly in Photograph No. 1, where the Cave can be seen low down to the right of the

Cut, while on the left of the picture is the mouth of a smaller dug-out.[1]

The field at the foot of the scarp is used apparently only for brick-making, which went on uninterruptedly during our work and threatened even at times to become embarrassing; for not only were the brick-makers in the habit of using our spoil earth for their own purposes, but their rate of progress was so rapid that we found ourselves in a short time beleaguered by serried rows of bricks and were forced to protest against this encroachment on our already limited area. A word may perhaps be said on the process of manufacture. It is extremely simple, and the chief stages can be

GAZA.—1. MAIN CUT.

seen in Photograph No. 2, where our Main Cut, in a more advanced stage, is to be noted in the background:—

A hole having been formed in the ground, Workman No. 1 prepares therein a mud pie, to which he adds chopped straw and water as required. He is the man seen stirring his mess in the centre background. Workman No. 2 then conveys the mud in a bowl to Workman No. 3, who places it in a bottomless wooden form and presses it well down till the mud is flush with the rim. He can be seen stooping over

[1] The photographs, plans, and sections not reproduced in this issue can be seen at the Offices of the Fund. The plans have been prepared by Mr. A. St. B. Harrison.

to do this in the right foreground. He then raises the form by loops at either end and leaves the shaped mud in position: then he places the form against the side of the new brick and waits for more mud. The interval between any two bricks being necessarily the width of

GAZA.—2. MAIN CUT AT A LATER STAGE.

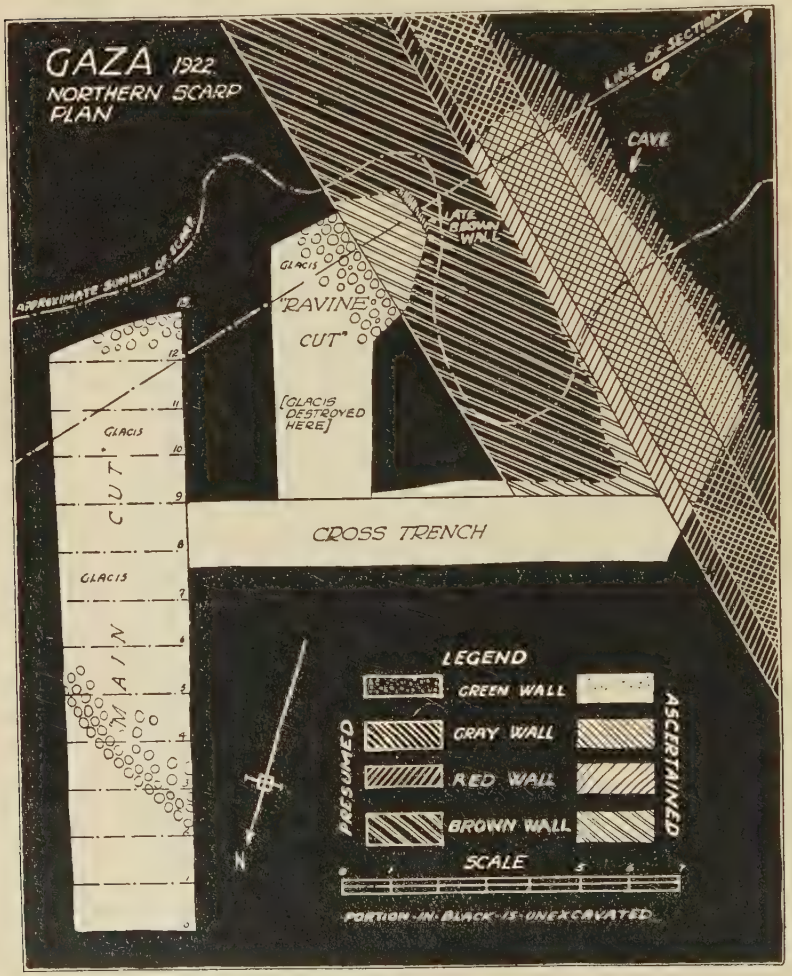
the wooden wall of the form, the result after a day's work is astonishingly neat, and the process is so simple that the rate of progress is only conditioned by the activity of the labourers. The bricks are left for about a week to dry in the sun, and are then carted away in large nets by camels.

The interesting point to be observed in the present case is that our field and scarp seem to have been used for centuries for the same purpose. When we examined the Cave and its walls more thoroughly we could see that extensive quarrying for brick-clay had been carried out in Byzantine, and probably in Roman, times. The pick marks of the old workers showed up distinctly on the ancient walls, and could be dated by the masses of Byzantine *débris* which had been shot over the top and come to rest against them. These masses made the immediate neighbourhood of the Cave an unsuitable place for a trench which had to descend at least three metres below the level of the field, and we therefore selected the best ground nearest to it in the hope of striking an undamaged section of the ancient city wall. Our primary purpose, however, was to test the stratification of the pottery for comparison with our finds at Askalon and elsewhere, and we therefore adopted the system of trenching by "steps," the details of which are inserted in the sectional sketch of the Main Cut which accompanies this paper.

The earth was removed in horizontal "steps" or layers, each approximately 1 metre high and 1 metre deep. At the beginning of a trench of this description the size of the steps (which is quite arbitary) must be kept as small as possible, as there is at first no means of telling how the ground is stratified, and confusion of pottery from two distinct strata in the same step may easily result. But this defect, while unavoidable, is at least partially remedied by keeping the fragments of pottery from each step together and writing on each piece finally selected for retention the number and letter of its step. Its provenance can then be settled by the evidence of the strata themselves in relation to the pottery of the steps immediately around it.

It will be seen that in the Main Cut the layer "B" was worked on this principle, and its steps numbered "B." 0, "B. 1," "B. 2," etc., but by the time that it was finished and work begun on the top of "A," the "lie of the land" had become so clear that a less minute sub-division of steps was possible, and from this point onwards (*i.e.*, downwards) they were removed in lengths of several metres at a time, the pottery fragments being of course still numbered according to the step to which they belonged. Finally, when it became dangerous to excavate the whole of the section, two isolated steps (metre 6 to metre 8 and metre 10 to metre 13) were continued downwards, and of these one only (W. 6–8) was able to reach the original level of the ground.

By pegging the walls of the trench as each step was commenced, and using a line and plumb-bob when it was finished, it was possible to keep the steps vertically beneath one another, and though in such



Northern Scarp Plan.

work it is naturally difficult to avoid error, it is believed that in the present case this did not exceed a few centimetres in either direction.

The results obtained from the Main Cut were as interesting as they were unexpected. The upper *débris* consisted of a mixture

of glazed Arab fragments, Byzantine ribbed, and Roman pseudo-Samian, wares, and numerous pieces of glass belonging to these periods. In C. 1 was found a stamped jar handle of a coarser clay than that of the usual Rhodian amphorae. It bore the inscription [ΠΟ?]ΠΛΙΟΣ . [ⱽ]. Possibly it is of Cnidian origin, and in this case would belong, as its environment suggests, to the first century of our Era. A pseudo-Samian fragment in A. 1–3 had the letters ΗΡ not very carefully scratched on it. Beyond these two pieces the pottery contained nothing of extraordinary interest.

So far the results had been normal, but from this stage onwards they developed in quite an unexpected direction. Almost at once a very conspicuous stratum of sand made its appearance: it started from the west side of the trench and sloped downwards gradually across it to the east: it was quite distinct from the strata above, and we found later that it attained a depth of 86 centimetres. Pottery fragments in this stratum were very scarce, and such as there were showed every evidence of bad workmanship and poverty on the part of the people who made and owned them. The most conspicuous type of ware was of coarse brick-red clay so friable that when it was handled the red came off on the fingers. The fragments seemed to form part of large amphorae of a shape typical of the latest stage of the Early Iron Age, or, in other words, that which in Palestine immediately precedes the entrance of Hellenistic wares. The jar has a circular mouth with a rim about 1 centimetre high rising vertically from a flat sloping shoulder, the shoulder itself ending in a sharp "metallic" angle from which the body of the jar contracts gradually to a rounded base. This type of vase continued throughout the section, fragments of it being found in W. 6–8. It was clearly very popular at Gaza, and occurs there much more frequently than at Askalon. Possibly it was made at the town itself.

The conclusion to be deduced from this stratum of sand and its contents is a clear if startling one. Unless this spot proved for some reason to have lain out of the main stream of the city's history, there must have been some period in that history when Gaza was almost, if not totally, deserted. But here another fact claimed attention. The eastern portion of the trench showed a mixture of Arab, Byzantine and Roman *débris immediately overlying* the sand: of the dense layers of white or pink well-baked Hellenistic wares which formed a conspicuous feature of the stratification at Askalon,

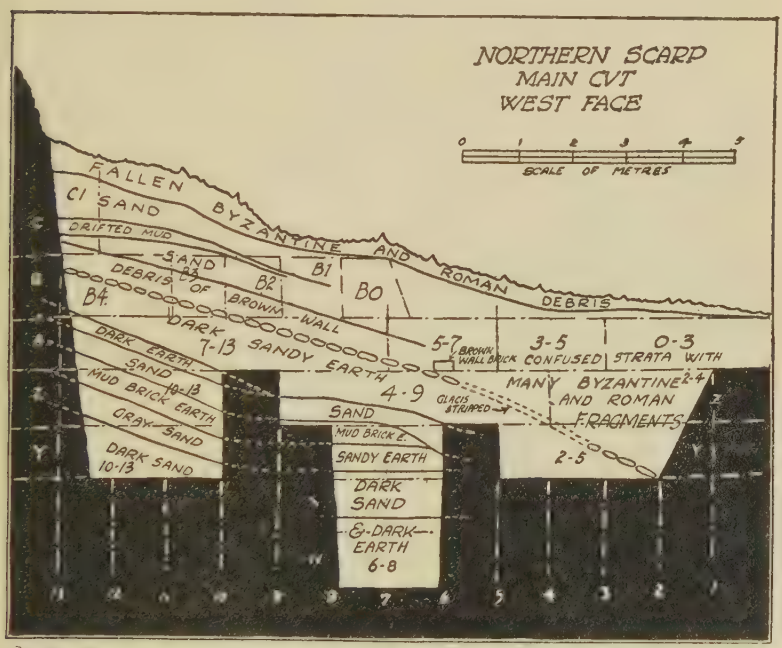
there was at Gaza no trace at all. It might be argued that in so small a section the absence of such fragments cannot be treated as evidence for the whole site, and this is no doubt true of the better-class wares which would in any event be scarce; but that a Greek population, succeeding a Philistine, should have contracted rather than increased the area covered by their town is in the highest degree unlikely, and we know from evidence—which will be studied later—that a Greek Gaza actually existed, and that it reached a high level of prosperity, with at least one temple and a Senate of 500 persons. Apart from this, the commoner Hellenistic wares were made and broken in such quantities that even if we had been really unfortunate enough to choose an unusually secluded spot in the environs of the Greek city, it is unlikely, in fact it is hardly credible, that no such fragments should have been deposited over an area wide enough to have included our Main Cut.

In a word, the archaeological evidence seems very definitely to show, first, that the city experienced a long period of decay, and probably also some interval of complete desertion; secondly, that it experienced this set-back at the beginning of the Hellenistic period (*i.e.*, *c.* 300 B.C.); thirdly, that during that period it had no share in Hellenistic culture, and fourthly, that its renaissance began under Roman rule, possibly in the first century A.D., and thenceforth continued under Byzantine and Arab masters to the present day. The problem thus raised is too intricate to be dealt with in this report, and has been reserved for a separate note. We are here concerned merely with registering the facts, and may pass on to consider our further discoveries in the Main Cut.

Working gradually inwards along the "B" level we encountered in B. 2 a layer of rough stones which sloped upwards towards the south-west corner of the trench. On the top of it lay a thick stratum of dark sandy clay, the origin of which was discovered at a later stage. This stone layer was followed upwards and downwards to its disappearance in the end walls of the trench near the top of B. 4 and the bottom of Y. 2–5 respectively (see sectional sketch). It proved to be a glacis which sloped away in two directions, eastwards and northwards, but its purpose was at first obscure. In Photograph No. 3, which is taken looking southwards along its length (the deposit of sand and earth will be observed in the back wall of the trench), it will be noticed that the portion in the foreground has been stripped and the earth beneath it removed. A glance at the sectional sketch will show that this point corresponds exactly with the obliteration of the older lines of

stratification, and we may assume the damage to have been done by stone-hunters in Roman times.

It now became necessary to pursue our investigations further afield and bring this glacis into some kind of relation with the ancient walls in the Cave. Accordingly a cross trench was dug from the Main Cut to the mouth of the Cave and a side branch driven up the small ravine which lay 5 metres west of the Cut. The Cave itself was at the same time opened up and the walls examined in detail. In the comparative gloom of the dug-out it had been impossible to



NORTHERN SCARP PLAN, WEST FACE.

discover any very definite facts about the latter, but it was now seen that instead of running east and west as originally supposed by the writer, their direction was approximately north-west and south-east, the exact bearing being 133°. As work went on it also became clear that we had to deal with no less than four distinct walls, which from the peculiar colour of their bricks were named the Green, Grey, Red, and Brown walls respectively.

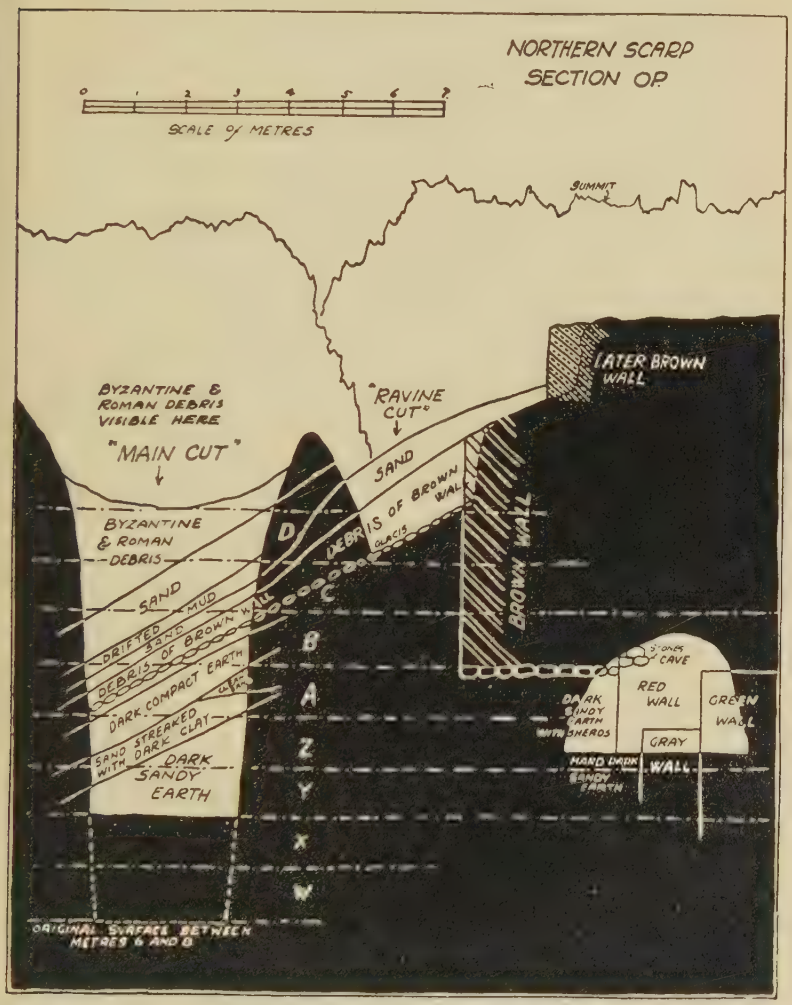
The "Green" or oldest wall lay on the west side of the Cave and was composed of well-made bricks of an average size of 30 × 16 cm. Against the face of this had been built the "Grey" wall, very little of

which remained, as its central position in the Cave exposed it more freely than the others to the ravages of clay-quarriers. On the top of both of these and extending 43 cm. eastward of the "Grey" wall was the "Red" wall, the bricks of which can be seen distinctly in Photograph No. 4: their length ranged from 49—29 cm., and their height from 15—18 cm. Curiously enough, though very finely made and baked, they were not at all well jointed, unless the mortar which bound them together has since decayed, for in many cases there was a gap of as much as 1·5 cm. between the bricks.

On the east side of the Cave and towards its mouth (see section and photograph) the "Red" wall had been completely destroyed by clay-quarriers and its outer face revealed. A deposit of dark grey sand which had collected against it was found to contain fragments indistinguishable from those discovered later under the glacis: of these, the "pebble-burnished" wares were particularly in evidence, and would seem to date this wall to the fifth or sixth centuries B.C., or perhaps even earlier. The wall itself rested on a stratum of dark sandy clay (possibly the *débris* of more ancient buildings or of the "Grey" wall itself) and rose unbroken to a height of 1·20 metres. At this point it had obviously been repaired, for large stones had been inserted amongst the bricks without any reference to their layers. As the foundations of the "Brown" wall began at this point, the repair is probably due to its builders, but of this we have no proof. Certainly, as was evident at the mouth of the Cave, the "Brown" wall was in some parts built against, and not over, the outer face of the "Red": its foundations were laid without any preparation on the dark sandy deposits mentioned above, and the result of this hasty or inexperienced work can be seen in the "buckling" of the bricks which formed its lowest layer. Its line could be traced out of the Cave and along the cross trench for several metres but then came abruptly to an end, the reason for its disappearance no doubt being the destruction of the glacis which must have met it at, or near, this point but had been entirely stripped of its stones.

We may turn now to the "Ravine," where a certain number of our difficulties were solved. Here, after very little labour, we found not only the upper edge of the glacis, but the remains of the wall against which it rested. It was possible to take a bearing along the stretch exposed, and it agreed exactly with that of the more ancient walls below (133°). It was thus clear that we had found an important section of the city's defences: one wall after another was built to defend the salient (as we must without further evidence assume it to be), and the last was further protected with a glacis which, if crude in construction,

must have offered a considerable obstacle to the battering rams of the enemy.



Northern Scarp Plan, Section OP.

We have said "the last," but, as a matter of fact, a still later mud-brick wall could be seen on the top of the "Brown" wall and only a metre or two from the summit of the scarp. Its connection,

however, with the older walls is very dubious, and it was certainly built long after the glacis had disappeared under an accumulation of *débris*. The approximate date of the latter occurrence is fortunately known to us: it followed immediately on the destruction of the "Brown" wall, for the layer of dark sandy clay, which we had noted in the Main Cut as overlying the glacis, was seen very clearly in the "Ravine" to be nothing else than the decomposed bricks from this rampart. On the top of this layer was the deep stratum of sand to which we have alluded, streaked here and at other places with deposits of drifted mud. The latter term perhaps requires explanation, though it would be difficult to describe the phenomenon in any other way. It can be found in patches under the cliffs along the Palestinian coast, and the writer came across it at Askalon below the earliest remains of human habitation. The strata are composed of a very sticky and tenacious dark-brown clay, quite unlike any deposit produced by human activity, and presumably due to the accumulation of minute particles of earth drifted together by the wind and coagulated by moisture into a series of thin plates. It is unmistakably a natural formation, and its presence here at Gaza is insisted upon because a considerable interval of time must have been required for its deposition. Combined with the sand stratum in which it was embedded, it offers a strong argument for the protracted decay or abandonment of the site.

The relation of the glacis to the ancient walls having been established, it remained to determine the nature of the deposits underlying it. Its removal turned out to be a much easier task than had been anticipated, for its stones had been inserted in the earth without any mortar or cement to bind them together. Beneath the stones lay sloping strata of dark sandy earth covering a deposit of clean sand. Beneath this again were further strata of dark earth, becoming more sandy as they approached the original ground-level of chalky marl. While sufficiently distinct in character, these various strata shewed little or no variation in the pottery types belonging to them, and it is perhaps sufficient only to notice that they tended gradually to lose their slope, until towards the bottom of the Cut they were found running parallel with the original surface of the ground, which (in W. 6–8 at least) was found to be level.

The pottery itself, with the exception of a few fragments of Cypriote "Base-ring" ware in Y. 10–13 and W. 6–8, a piece of "Wishbone-handle" bowl in W. 6–8, and, more strangely, part of a

pointed juglet of similar date in Z. 10–13, belonged uniformly to the Early Iron Age (*c.* 1200–300 B.C.). Painted wares were unfortunately rare and not remarkable, though they occurred throughout the Cut: they were in all cases fragments of the typical Philistine "Krater" decorated with red bands on the untreated surface of the vase. Besides these only a single fragment of the typical Philistine cup with horizontal loop handle was found (A. 7–13). This was decidedly disappointing, as the much smaller section cut during our first season at Askalon had produced far richer results at the cost of much less labour. Nevertheless, though the absence of the finer wares is to be regretted, the general character and date of the pottery is unmistakable. The "pebble-burnished" wares are as usual much in evidence, though they seem to disappear in the levels above the glacis. The large amphorae already mentioned are the most common type of vessel found, though small saucers, pinched lamps and round-bottomed juglets were not infrequent.

The layer of Late Bronze Age deposits (marked by the "Base-ring" vases and white slip "Wishbone-handle" bowls) was so shallow that it was almost absorbed in the overlying strata. This fact is certainly curious, for it might have been expected that a great city like Gaza would have had more to show for her long history during the XVIIIth Egyptian Dynasty. We have to remember, however, that the strata at this point and the ground below them are level: this shows that our Cut lay at some distance from the original Bronze Age mound, the existing scarp being formed, as we have seen, of Iron Age, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab *débris*. The archaeological evidence indicates, therefore, that, while we are in the neighbourhood of a Bronze Age site, we are too far removed from the heart of it to expect numerous proofs of its existence. The fields lying around the present town are sprinkled sparsely with fragments of all dates, from modern back into Roman times, and if the years that follow were to see a large expansion of Gaza, archaeologists of the future might find such pieces under precisely the same conditions as those which existed at the bottom of our Main Cut. It is, in short, only too evident that the proper excavation of this city demands resources of no mean order. The vast extent of the mound (it takes over an hour to walk completely round it) is proof, if any were needed, of the antiquity of the buildings which must be hidden at its centre, but it is also a silent warning of the cost which their discovery must involve, and we

should rather be grateful that to this already imposing mass of ruins were not added the temples and public buildings of Greek civilization which might have hidden for ever the fortifications which resisted Sargon, Necho, and Alexander.

GAZA, *December 1st*, 1922.

THE PROBLEM OF "DESERTED" GAZA.

By W. J. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS.

THE archaeological evidence which we have surveyed, though it does not pretend to be conclusive, certainly points, as we have seen, to a period of decay in the city's history, leading at the last even to total abandonment.

It is therefore interesting to recall that there exists some literary evidence for the temporary desertion of Gaza, and to consider how this evidence harmonises with the archaeological facts before us.

Our chief witness is Strabo, who, writing about 20 A.D., makes the definite statement that Gaza, once a famous city, was "pulled down" by Alexander the Great, and "remains deserted" (ἔρημος). A "harbour of the Gazaei" existed on the coast, south of and "near" Askalon (XVI, 2, 30), but Strabo does not suggest that this harbour had usurped the name of its mother city, nor is it altogether justifiable to infer from his description of Gaza that the site had been completely abandoned after the destruction of its fortifications by Alexander.

More interesting to students of the Bible is the passage in the Acts of the Apostles (viii, 26 sqq.). Here we read that "the angel of the Lord spake unto Philip, saying, Arise, and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza, which" (or "the same") "is desert (ἔρημος)." It has long been disputed whether the last clause should be applied to Gaza or to a particular road which led to it from Jerusalem, but as Sir George Adam Smith has pointed out (*Hist. Geogr.*, p. 186, n. 3), "No possible route from Jerusalem to Gaza could be called desert, and this being so, and several writers of the period immediately preceding having

used the phrase of the town itself, it seems that we are not only encouraged, but shut up, to the same reference here." An anonymous Geographical Fragment (*Geogr. Graec. Minores*, ed. Hudson IV., p. 39), which is one of the authorities to whom he refers, says that after (*i.e.*, north of) Rhinocolura (el-Arish) "lies the New Gaza, being a city also in itself, then the 'desert Gaza' (ἔρημος Γάζα), then the city of Askalon."

We have thus three witnesses, ranging probably in date from the end of the first century B.C. to the second half of the first century A.D., who concur in asserting that Gaza was either "desert" in their own day or having been at one time "desert," had retained that epithet as a distinguishing title.

The statement of Strabo has been somewhat brusquely repudiated by Guérin (*Judée*, II., p. 292) on evidence which is by no means convincing. It is, in the first place, very unlikely that a writer of Strabo's ability would deliberately insert a detail so striking and yet so superfluous to his general purpose. It is quite true, as Guérin points out, that no historian mentions the desertion of Gaza after its overthrow by Alexander: on the contrary, Arrian tells us that after massacring the males and reducing the women and children to slavery, Alexander re-peopled the town from the neighbouring regions and used it as a garrisoned fort for his campaigns (II., 27). But it is no less true that Strabo never categorically asserts that desertion followed immediately on dismantlement, and, even if he intended to do so, the fact that he may have been mistaken in this cannot affect the truth of his last assertion, namely, that in his day (for whatever reasons) the city was or remained deserted.

Similarly, the statement of the anonymous geographer that a deserted Gaza lay between a New Gaza and Askalon cannot be dismissed as pure phantasy, for Diodorus Siculus tells us very plainly that in the days of Ptolemy and Demetrius (312 B.C.) there was already an Ancient Gaza, and therefore by necessary inference (though he appears to be unaware of the fact himself) a New Gaza as well (Diod. Sicul., XIX., 80).[1]

[1] The fact that Diodorus seems to be ignorant of the existence of a New Gaza suggests that he is making a blind use of older authorities and not, as Sir George Adam Smith would infer, speaking of an "Ancient Gaza" of his own day, *i.e.*, of *c.* 20 B.C. His tendency to insert "undigested fragments of the materials which he employed" is a characteristic of the writer, cf. *Ency. Brit.*, Art. "Diodorus Siculus."

When we compare these three pieces of evidence, we find that they can be readily harmonised. The term "ancient," while it certainly involves the existence of a "new," or less ancient, Gaza, does not in any sense require that the older city should have been abandoned. But if this term could be applied to a Gaza so soon after its destruction by Alexander in 332 B.C., it does suggest very strongly that the older town had been surpassed in brilliance by the younger and was becoming, as we might put it, a "back number." That mere inferiority should pass into decay and decay lead to final abandonment is clearly not only possible but probable, especially if there is some quality in the upstart town which can deprive the elder of its former importance. In the present instance there can be no doubt that such a quality existed, for at the very moment when Greek influence from overseas was becoming paramount in Palestine, we are continually finding references to a Gaza *on the sea coast*. How far such a term could be applied to the present town we can discover by examining the passages in question.

It is generally agreed that the city of Gaza which Alexander the Great captured after a tremendous siege is none other than that which now bears the same historic name. Arrian's description (II., 26, 1) fits it exactly. "Gaza," he says, "is distant at the most 20 stades from the sea. The ascent to it (*sc.*, from the sea) is deep in sand, and there is shoal water on the coast over against the city. Gaza is a great city built on a high mound and encircled with a strong wall." Anyone who has trudged up from the present jetty to the top of the sand-dunes which overlook the town, and has seen it standing high above the surrounding fields on its imposing Tell, will agree that no more accurate picture could have been drawn. At the same time, while he will readily admit that this is the site which Alexander besieged and captured, he will in like measure repudiate any suggestion of its being a maritime city. Nothing, in fact, could be less maritime. As Arrian truthfully says, the coast opposite the town is rendered harbourless by its shoals; and the "harbour of the Gazaei," which became the Maiumas or Haven of Gaza, lay a mile or two northward in the direction of Askalon. When we read therefore of Gaza being a sea-coast town like Jaffa and Acre, or when we read of a fleet "sailing from it," we must look elsewhere for "Maritime Gaza."

One conclusion is thus obvious. Strabo was at least right in this, that between the capture of the city of Alexander and the defeat of Demetrius under the walls of "Ancient" Gaza, a change had taken place in the fortunes of the elder city, and this change led perhaps in the end to its desertion. The nature of that change has been suggested: it was the foundation of a sea-coast town bearing the name of "New Gaza" and situated (if the anonymous geographer is correct) to the south of the other. We have now to consider the evidence for the existence of such a city.

In 315 B.C. Antigonus, faced with the formidable combination of Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Cassander, realised that his primary object must be to wrest from them the command of the seas which at that moment they held unchallenged (*Diod.*, XIX., 58). Ptolemy alone had carried away the whole Phoenician navy to Egypt, and it was only by dint of continuous energy and encouragement that Antigonus succeeded in building an entirely new fleet in the dock-yards of Phoenicia. We are not concerned with the complicated history of this period, but we should note that one of the first acts which Antigonus found necessary was to invade Palestine, and capture the "disobedient" cities of Joppa and Gaza, the Ptolemaic garrisons of which he absorbed into his own army. It is hard to resist the conclusion that at such a time as this the importance of Gaza for Antigonus lay, like that of Joppa, in its position as a maritime base, which it would be too dangerous to leave in the power of Egypt. The result of this manœuvre may perhaps be seen in the fact that when Ptolemy four years later invaded Palestine he marched from Pelusium by land (although Pelusium was one of his harbours—*Diod.*, XIX., 64, 8) and met Demetrius in the neighbourhood of "Ancient" Gaza. The description of the battle shows clearly that in this case the site of the present town is intended. The disposition of the opposing forces suits well the level plain between the Aly Muntar hills and the rolling dunes to the east of the coast; and the retirement of Demetrius past Gaza (presumably the only Gaza mentioned, and therefore the "Ancient" Gaza) to Azotus (Ashdod) is an additional evidence that this was the site of the battle, for in no other manner could Gaza have lain on the line of his retreat. If this is so, "Ancient" Gaza was not only inhabited, but had walls and gates, though of the strength of these we are not informed. Certainly it seems to have presented no attractions to Demetrius as a possible rallying place, and it fell

without a struggle into the hands of Ptolemy. Whether this was the Gaza which, together with Ace (Acre), Joppa and Samaria, he ultimately destroyed on his retreat to Egypt, must remain uncertain: two of the other three were maritime cities, and one had already shared with Gaza the special vengeance of Antigonus: apart from this we have nothing to guide us.

Six years later (306 B.C.) Antigonus made a great but unsuccessful assault upon Egypt. The passage in which Diodorus describes this expedition requires more than a casual mention, though it seems to have been overlooked in the study of the history of Gaza (*Diod.*, XX., 73 and 74). He had by this time assembled a numerous fleet as well as a large army, and it is extremely significant that his starting point for both of these should have been Gaza. With an immense train of camels (one cannot help recalling recent campaigns in this region) he started his army on the march, giving orders to the fleet to keep pace with his advance. The fleet accordingly, to use the words of Diodorus, "set sail from Gaza," only to meet with heavy storms and disaster. Here then we have definite evidence for a Gaza which was at once a land- and a sea-coast city. It must have been on the main route to Egypt, since Antigonus camped there with his land force, but it must also have been on the sea, since his fleet and transports put out from it. No one who has read the description of Arrian will contend that the present Gaza fulfils these conditions. Once more then we are forced to assume a maritime city of the same name, a "New Gaza" risen to a sudden importance to supply the needs of her Greek masters.

When we turn to Josephus we find the same story. Gaza is numbered with the ports of Ptolemais (Acre), Stato's Tower (the later Caesarea) and Dora (Tanturah) as one of the *maritime cities* which defied the attacks of Alexander Jannaeus (*Ant.*, XIII., 12, 2). More than this, it was expected to join with Ptolemais in assisting Ptolemy Lathyrus against Alexander (*ib.*), an undertaking not only rash but almost impracticable unless it lay on the sea-coast and could send its contingent on transports. Although this alliance proved abortive, the people of Gaza soon afterwards combined with Zoilus, the tyrant of the maritime cities of Strato's Tower and Dora, in supplicating the assistance of Ptolemy, and the city formed the base for the latter's unsuccessful invasion of Egypt and the refuge where he spent the following winter months. Finally, when in 96 B.C.

Alexander ravaged the maritime cities of Anthedon and Raphia, the one to the north, the other to the south of Gaza, Ptolemy lost no time in retiring from that town to Cyprus, and it is hardly credible that Alexander should have allowed this to happen, if he could have cut off Gaza from the sea.

Amongst the details of the capture and destruction of the town by Alexander which followed soon afterwards, we have especially to note the existence in the city of a temple of Apollo and of a Senate of 500 persons. Gaza, in fact, enjoyed at this period a purely Greek culture, and this characteristic is twice insisted on by Josephus (*Ant.*, XVII., 11, 4; *B.J.*, II., 6, 3). While its maritime position joined it with Joppa, Dora and Strato's Tower, in contra-distinction to inland towns such as Ashdod and Jamnia (Yebna) (*Ant.*, XIV., 4, 4), its character as a Greek city placed it with Gadara and Hippos, which were protected for quite other reasons from Jewish aggression. Gaza then at this time lay on the sea coast, and Gaza was Greek. Neither of these two facts will fit the site of the present town. It is incredible that any Greek should submit to live in a foreign country so near the sea, and yet, for all practicable purposes of commerce or of escape in time of danger, so hopelessly severed from it. It is equally incredible that any Greek should have built a maritime Gaza at the point where the present jetty stands, when he had nothing but shoal water in front of him and the purely Greek town of Anthedon (now Tidah) with its small but useful harbour not more than 30 minutes' walk to the northward.

Somewhere on the seashore to the south we must look for the ruins of a Greek city, and it may be remarked in passing that we seem to have such a site at Tell Ajjul on the Wady Ghuzzeh.

After reaching these conclusions, we shall not find it surprising that the archaeological results of our expedition disclosed the absence of any brilliant Greek period in the present Tell of Gaza. As we have seen, the years following the destruction of the "Brown" wall were years of poverty and decay, which stand out in strong contrast to the prosperity of the Greek Anthedon. The site no doubt continued to be inhabited, as the traces of the upper "Brown" wall indicate, and this wall may therefore be taken to represent the "Ancient Gaza" of 312 B.C. No change for the better came until the Roman era, when old Gaza once more sprang into prominence, while the Greek city on the coast apparently lost its livelihood and disappeared. Under Roman rule the old caravan route to Egypt

had regained that importance which it can never lose while the same power holds both Egypt and Palestine, and from this time onwards the sea-borne trade of Gaza, such as it was, was exported through the new harbour of Maiumas, the position of which is discussed above (see p.15).

At what period the present Gaza ceased to be deserted or, at all events, began its return to prosperity and under whose auspices this occurred are problems which still await settlement. It is useless to disguise the fact that serious difficulties still remain to be overcome, but if we have once established the existence of a second separate Gaza, we can attack these difficulties from firmer ground.

An attempt may be made in conclusion to date approximately the other walls discovered. If the glacis and the very strong "Brown" wall (p. 26) represent the period of Alexander the Great (332 B.C.), the "Red" wall must go back at least to the days of Pharaoh Necho (609–593 B.C.), who apparently inflicted severe damage upon the town (Jeremiah xlvii, 1). The "Grey" and "Green" walls may therefore take us back to the middle of the first millennium, or in other words, to the arrival of the Philistines. Unfortunately it was impossible to find any datable pottery in relation to these older walls, and we can only estimate their age by comparison with the depth of the Late Bronze fragments in the adjoining Main Cut.

The scarcity of these seems to show, as we have said, that the Bronze Age City lay some distance within the perimeter of the present mound, but their presence shows that it was inhabited from at least 1400 B.C., and that it presumably represents the frontier city of Canaan which existed in the days of the XVIIIth Egyptian Dynasty.

GAZA, *December* 1*st*, 1922.

THE OPHEL HILL.

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman.

The decision of the Committee to co-operate in the proposed international excavation of what is described as the "Ophel Hill," is one which will commend itself to all those who have followed the development of modern ideas with regard to the topography of Jerusalem. For the sake of those who may not realize the uniqueness of the opportunity, it is proposed in the present paper to set forth in a popular manner what the "Ophel Hill" is, what has been found there already, and what may be reasonably hoped from the proposed excavations.

The term "Ophel" is not perhaps a happy one to apply to the whole of the ridge running south from the southern wall of the Temple towards Siloam, an area of about 2,000 feet long by some 350 to 400 feet wide. I am not sure whether there is any name, ancient or modern, which covers the whole area. M. Weill gives the name ed-Dehourah to the part where he excavated, but we do not know how far north this name is extended. If we view Jerusalem as built upon two lines of hill—a long eastern one and a short, broader and loftier western one; and if, as many authors do, we divide the eastern hill into three, the central part being covered by the Temple area, the northern one the site of ancient "Bezetha," and the southern part the site of Ophel, the Akra, the fortress Zion, and the "City of David," then this ridge south of the Temple area may be described as the south-eastern hill of the City. It is bounded to the east by the Wady Sitti Miriam or Kidron Valley, and on the west by the valley known as el-Wad, called by Josephus the Tyropoeon Valley. Both these valleys have become half-filled with so much rubbish that the steep sides of the ridge are now largely buried. Indeed, towards el-Wad on the west, the slopes into the valley give, except on the south, no indication to-day of a site of material strength. The southern end of the ridge, where the two valleys join, ends in rocky scarps showing numerous marks of artificial work and conveying indications of possibilities of natural defence in former days.

To the north there is no indication where the ridge is cut off—if it was cut off—from the higher ground crowned with the Temple area, but that is not unnatural when we consider that from the time of the building of the Temple for perhaps a thousand years, this ridge and the Temple hill was all incorporated into one. The greater part of the hill has been for long centuries uninhabited, and to-day there are very few houses. There are a few half-developed vegetable gardens and but few trees.

Ophel.

The name Ophel has been very generally applied in modern times to the whole of this long ridge, but it is certain that this was not the ancient use of the word. Ophel was somewhere here, but the ridge itself was not Ophel.

In 2 Chronicles xxvii, 3, xxxiii, 14, Neh. iii, 26, and xi, 21, the word occurs as a proper name with the article *ha-Ophel*. It is translated Ophel with (in A.V.) "the Tower" in the margin. We read (2 Chronicles xxvii, 3), that "on the wall of Ophel (Jotham) built much," and (in xxxiii, 14) that Manasseh "compassed Ophel about and raised it to a very great height." In the book of Nehemiah, we read (iii, 26) that "the Nethinim dwelt in Ophel (margin "the Tower") unto the place over against the water-gate toward the east and the tower that standeth out." In other passages where "Ophel" occurs without the article, it is variously translated, *e.g.* (Is. xxxii, 14) "the forts," R.V. margin "the hill"; (Micah iv, 8) "the stronghold," and R.V. margin "the hill"; in 2 Kings v, 24, "the tower," and R.V. margin "the hill."

The Rev. Dr. Burney, in the *Quarterly Statement*, Jan. 1911, gives strong reasons for believing that the meaning of Ophel is "fortress," and that the name was at a later age applied to the fortress known earlier as "Zion," or the "City of David."

All the references in 2 Chronicles and Nehemiah make it clear that Ophel was situated somewhere on this south-eastern hill or ridge, and this agrees with Josephus, who, in describing the course of the old wall of Jerusalem, traces it from the fountain Siloam "where it also bends again towards the east at Solomon's Pool, and reaches as far as a certain place they call Ophlas, where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the Temple" (B.J., V, iv, 2). In another passage he describes how "John held the Temple and the parts thereto adjoining for a great way, as also Ophla and the valley

called the Valley Cedron" (B.J., V, vi, 1). It is quite possible that in the days of Josephus, the name had already been extended further north than in Old Testament times.

While, however, it has generally been conceded that Ophel was somewhere on this south-eastern hill, a far greater interest in this site lies in the fact that almost all competent scholars now believe that somewhere here were the sites of :—

Zion and the City of David.

The controversy has been a long one. When over fifty years ago the late Rev. W. F. Birch commenced to champion these views, it was generally accepted that "Zion" and the "City of David" were both where tradition places them to-day.

"Mount Zion" had been so long applied to the southern end of the western hill, and the traditional "Tomb of David," outside the Zion Gate (Bab Neby Daoud), had been so long venerated by Moslems, Jews and Christians, that it must have needed some mental detachment to maintain an entirely different view. Mr. Birch's contributions on this subject in the *Quarterly Statement* are numerous. They appear in the volumes for 1870, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1888, 1890, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1903, 1906, 1908 and 1911, indeed, death alone stilled his literary activity in this direction. And he has won all along the line. Not only have his arguments based on Bible and history found acceptance, but it is safe to say that every discovery on this site has strengthened his view. And yet, it may be worth while, on the eve of an excavation, which will without doubt conclusively settle the question once for all, to summarise the chief arguments in favour of placing the Stronghold of Zion, the same as the "City of David" (2 Samuel v, 7), which David captured on this south-eastern ridge.

1. On the eastern side of this hill, in the Valley of the Kedron, there gushes forth the once plentiful spring known as the "Virgin's Fountain" or in the Old Testament "Gihon." It must be evident to all those familiar with the sites of ancient cities in the east, that the two factors which decided the first people to build a town in this neighbourhood were : (1) the presence of this spring, and (2) the natural strength of the precipitous hill rising immediately above the spring. The enormous importance attached to this spring is shown by the numerous tunnels and aqueducts constructed around its source, and notably the very ancient tunnel, "Warren's Tunnel,"

which approaches the spring through the rock from the centre of the defensive area. It must be remembered that in very early times access to springs was a more vital matter than at a later age as water-holding cisterns were not then constructed. The great "water tunnel" at Gezer, and the only partially explored tunnels at el-Jib, Bittir and Khurbet Bel'ameh, were all made for the same purpose. In view of the entire absence of water on the relatively distant western hill, it is quite impossible to believe that any primitive people would pass by this favourable site for one so distant and unsuited to the military requirements of those days. The traditional relationship of the spring to the City and its sacred character is shown by Solomon's coronation there.

2. But the very shape of the two sites is a convincing argument. The long narrow ridge of "Ophel," small as it seems to us to-day, is exactly similar in general outline to many ancient fortified sites in Palestine, while the western hill presents an area which would for its defence have needed resources far beyond those of pre-Hebrew times.

An examination of the ground shows that the area, which might have been covered by the fortifications around this "Ophel" hill, may have been not much less than that around the powerful fortress city of ancient Gezer. What this exact area was, and how long were these surrounding walls are questions which the coming excavations may show us.

3. The excavations carried out on the site, to which reference is made below, have already fully confirmed, from the antiquity of the pottery remains, the primitive culture of its earliest settled inhabitants, the exact reverse is true of the western hill, where the earliest remains are Hebrew.

4. The Biblical evidence on which Mr. Birch chiefly relied entirely agrees with the findings of the archaeologist. In two rather obscure passages describing how King David captured Jerusalem (2 Sam. v, 6–9, and 1 Chron. xi, 6), one fact which emerges clear is that David captured the city "up the gutter" (R.V. "water course"). The word here used, צִנּוֹר *ṣinnōr*, is one of obscure meaning, but would be admirably explained by Warren's tunnel. The capture of the Citadel against all the expectation of the Jebusites is explained by the existence of this secret passage. Josephus in describing the same event, states that David "promised that he who should first go *over the ditches that were beneath the*

Citadel, and ascend into the Citadel itself, and take it, should have the command of the entire people conferred upon him."

Modern excavation has shown that "up the gutter," or "water course," is a better description than the "ditches" of Josephus.

If, as is generally supposed, the "Siloam tunnel" is really the aqueduct referred to in 2 Chron. xxxii, 30, where we read, "This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper water-course of Gihon and brought it straight down to the west side of the City of David," it is hardly possible to locate the "City of David" anywhere except on this hill. And the statement in 2 Chron. xxxiii, 14, that Manasseh built "an outer wall to the City of David on the west side of Gihon in the valley" (*i.e.*, the Naḥal or Kidron Valley) is very explicit as locating both the "City of David" and "Gihon."

In Nehemiah iii, 15, the City of David is referred to as adjacent to the Pool of Siloam and the King's garden.

Among other points which may be mentioned is the expression "up" used in connection with the transfer of the Ark of the Covenant from the City of David to the Temple (1 Kings viii, 1; 2 Chron. v, 2), and Pharaoh's daughter "came *up* out of the City of David into her house which Solomon had built for her"—adjacent to the Temple (1 Kings ix, 24). The term "up" could not possibly be used had the transfer been from the loftier western hill (now called "Mount Zion") to the Temple hill.

The crowning of Solomon at Gihon (1 Kings i, 33) and the account of King David's flight (2 Sam. xiii, 23) are both more consistent with a Jerusalem centred in the south-eastern hill. I know of no passages in the Bible supporting any other view.

It follows that this hill bears the site and the long buried ruined foundations of the ancient Zion, the stronghold of the Jebusites which David captured.[1] Here he made his royal residence and capital, and this "City of David" finally became his place of sepulchre (1 Kings ii, 10) and that of many of his successors.

Besides these famous sites, two others must have been situated somewhere upon this ridge, viz., the Millo and the Akra.

[1] It may be pointed out that in the prophetical and apocryphal writings "Zion" and "Mount Zion" were names given to the Temple Hill, and sometimes "Zion" is used as an equivalent to Jerusalem itself.

Millo.

The meaning of the word Millo (מִלּוֹא) is a matter of conjecture only. On account of its connexion with a root having the sense "filling," it is generally supposed to mean a solid tower or an embankment of earth. The "House of Millo" of 2 Kings xii, 20, according to Winckler, may have been the original pre-Hebrew temple shrine of Jerusalem, built like a Babylonian temple upon such a mound. It is very generally supposed that the Millo (2 Chron. xxxii, 5, and 2 Kings xii, 20) was some kind of fortress, possibly a massive brickwork structure at the northern end of the original walls, near the great gateway.

It has been suggested by Sir George Adam Smith that it was a fortress at the southern end of this hill, guarding the old pool. Father Vincent thinks the site may have been on the site of the causeway now connecting the western and eastern hills across the Tyropoeon Valley, while M. Weill considers that it was a narrow causeway connecting the "City of David" with "Ophel." It must have been included in the very earliest purely Hebrew fortifications of Jerusalem. We read (1 Kings xi, 27) that "Solomon built Millo and repaired the breaches of the City of David his father."

It is significant that the LXX translators always put Akra for Millo (2 Sam. v, 9; 1 Kings ix, 15, 24; and 2 Chron. xxxii, 5).

The Akra.

There have been very various suggestions regarding the situation of the fortress called by Josephus "the Akra." We have seen that the LXX writers identify Millo with the Akra. The evidence of Josephus is conflicting. Indeed, it is not quite clear from his writings whether he uses the term "Akra" always for the same locality. He states that Antiochus Epiphanes (168 B.C.) after destroying Jerusalem "fortified the City of David with a great and strong wall, with strong towers, and it became unto them an Akra" (1 Mac. i, 33, 36). This fortress became an increasing menace to the Jews until (142 B.C.) it was captured by Simon, who, not only razed the whole fortress, but "when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself on which the Citadel happened to stand, that the Temple might be higher than it . . . . . so they all set themselves to work and levelled the mountain, and in that work spent both night and day without intermission, which cost them three years

before it was removed and brought to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the City" (*Ant.*, XIII, VI, 7).

This event Josephus refers to again (B.J., V, vi, 1) when he states that "the other hill, which was called Akra, and sustains the lower City, is of the shape of a moon when she is horned; over against this is a third hill (evidently the Temple Hill), but naturally lower than Akra, and parted formerly from the other by a deep valley. However, in these times when the Hasmoneans reigned, they filled up the valley with earth and had a mind to join the City to the Temple. They then took off part of the height of Akra, and reduced it to a less elevation than before, that the Temple might be superior to it." The Akra had been a menace to the Temple (1 Mac. xiii, 52) from which the Temple could be overlooked, hence these drastic measures (1 Mac. xiv, 36).

The Akra is identified by Josephus with the "City of David" and with the "lower City" (B.J., 1, xiv, V; IV, VI, 1), and yet, in its original lofty condition it dominated the Temple. Sir Charles Watson in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1906–07, produces strong reasons for placing the Akra where the el-Aksa Mosque is to-day, others, not perhaps so completely accepting the tradition recorded by Josephus, would put it further south, but there seems little doubt the Akra was somewhere upon the south-eastern hill. Whether this account of Josephus has any basis in fact should be possible of proof in the course of the proposed excavations.

Excavations upon the Ophel Hill.

In 1870, Sir Charles Warren found a wall 14½ feet thick running from the south-east corner of the Temple area south for 90 feet and then south-west along the edge of this hill for 700 feet. This wall showed at least two periods of construction and abuts against the Temple masonry by a straight joint.[1] Sir Charles Warren considered that the Ophel wall as at present existing is later than the Sanctuary wall. Along the course of this wall were four small towers with a projection of 6 feet and a face 22–28 feet broad, and a great corner tower projecting 41½ feet from the wall with a face 80 feet broad. This was built of massive masonry, very similar to some of the city wall remains afterwards found by Bliss on the western hill. It still stands under the ground from

[1] See "Excavations on 'Ophel,' Jerusalem," Volume of the Memoirs of the Survey of W. Palestine (P.E.F.).

its foundations to a height of 60 feet. Warren suggested that this was the "tower that standeth out" of Nehemiah iii. 25. The examination of these walls was incomplete, and conclusions as to period of construction were at the time considered very doubtful.

In 1881 Prof. Guthe picked up fragmentary traces of this city wall further south.

When Bliss and Dickie were excavating in Jerusalem they concentrated their work upon the walls from the south-west corner of the ancient city wall down to the Pool of Siloam,[1] but they made, at the suggestion of the Committee, a small excavation at the southern end of the Ophel hill in the hope of discovering the "Tomb of David." It was considered by M. Clermont-Ganneau that the wide curve of the Siloam tunnel may have been deliberately made to avoid the site of the Royal tombs. Nothing very notable was found, and M. Clermont-Ganneau stated that the excavation had not been made at the curve he had indicated.

During 1909–11 a party of Englishmen under the Hon. M. Parker obtained a permit to excavate in this hill and made a number of explorations, especially in the neighbourhood of the Virgin's Fountain (Gihon) and the various tunnels connected with this source. Father Vincent was fortunately able to follow the work throughout, and he drew up a copiously illustrated account which is now on sale at the P.E.F.[2] An English translation has also been published.

From November, 1913, to March, 1914, M. Raymond Weill, on behalf of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, made a most important excavation of the southern end of the "Ophel Hill." M. Weill has published his results in *La Cité de David*,[3] and Father Vincent has given an illustrated account in the *Revue Biblique*, 1921, pp. 247–277, 410–433, 541–569. Some account of this has been given in the *Quarterly Statement* of January, 1922. It is unnecessary, therefore, to repeat what has been said there.

It will be seen, therefore, that already this "Ophel Hill" has been examined at many parts, especially the line of the eastern city wall, the neighbourhood of Gihon, and the southern extremity

[1] See *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894–1897, by F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie (P.E.F.).

[2] *Jérusalem sous Terre.*

[3] *La Cité de David, Compte rendu des fouilles exécutées à Jérusalem sur le site de la ville primitive. Compagne*, 1914. (Paris, Geuthner, 1920.)

where it ends in rocky scarps at the junction of the Kidron and Tyropoeon valleys.

It will be the work of the new excavators to amplify our knowledge of these points and correlate our information from these various sources. The periods to which the already partially discovered eastern city walls belongs has to be determined. Of the line of the wall on the western side of the ridge where it abuts on the Tyropoeon we know nothing, nor do we know where the ancient Jebusite walls ended towards the north, where at any rate must have been a city gate and strong fortifications. Perhaps we may find the Millo in this neighbourhood. Then whether there was a natural valley or an artificial fosse between this northern wall and the slopes further north is as yet unknown. There must be extensive foundation remains of the early cities still deeply buried over a very wide area—more than possibly an ancient Canaanite sanctuary with the broken remains of masseboth may be uncovered. The site of the palace of David must occupy a prominent position in the hill and the tombs of David and of his successors (some of which M. Weill thinks he has found) should be of the utmost interest. It is to be hoped that the site of the Millo and the Akra may be established.

The excavation of a site belonging to periods so interesting to biblical and historical students must necessarily be of enormous importance. We should be able to form a clear conception of the pre-Hebrew and early Hebrew civilizations which flourished here for centuries. There is always the possibility that cuneiform tablets or some Hebrew inscriptions may be found. Lastly, it is more than probable that in such a site, which was thickly populated right down to the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus, much may be found which will throw light upon the Maccabean and Roman periods.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre. By the Rev. H. T. F. Duckworth, M.A., Professor of Ancient History, Trinity College, Toronto. London, Hodder and Stoughton. 10*s.* 6*d.*

So many books dealing with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and with its innumerable problems have appeared, and so hopeless does the ultimate solution of those problems seem to be, that it becomes more and more difficult for a new addition to the literature to justify its existence. And after perusal of the work before us, we are left in some doubt as to whether it has completely succeeded in doing so.

This is not meant as a total condemnation of the book. The general attitude of the author towards the essential question of authenticity is moderate and sane. He accepts the position of the Church as being somewhere near the places of Crucifixion and Entombment, while rejecting *en bloc* the detailed identification of the sites which the guides point out to visitors. This is probably the only reasonable alternative to the hopeless agnosticism that regards the site as lost beyond any expectation of recovery.

The book is divided into four parts, each occupied with a stage in the history of the site and of the buildings. The crucial points of division are the beginning of the Muslim period, the destruction of the buildings under Hakim, and the Crusades. Thus divided, the history is carried from the beginning to modern times. Indeed, the author in his preface essays to carry it even further, and to peep into the future: for he anticipates a gloomy time when the Church shall be turned into "a large apartment house, an office building, or perhaps a moving-picture house." Happily that time is not yet, and perhaps it may be questioned whether such semi-flippant speculations are quite in place.

Most of the history is founded, as it necessarily must be, on the scanty and not always trustworthy records of pilgrims. These writings are in their way interesting and often informing. But when one has spent some time in a Jerusalem hotel listening to the chatter of tourists about the places which they have seen during the day, and has discovered what extraordinarily muddle-headed notions it is possible for such persons to carry away from their hurried visits to these complex structures, one is apt to place but little reliance on the writings of persons who were, after all, just

the tourists of their generation, and who were in most cases probably writing from memory. Thus, great weight is always attached, in studies such as that before us, to the testimony of Arculf. But the circumstances under which Arculf's observations have come down to us should not be forgotten. The pilgrim visited Jerusalem, possibly took notes, but of this we are not assured; then after all the horrors of a mediæval voyage, he found himself on the distant island of Iona, where he entertained the abbot, Adamnan, with an account of his reminiscences, which Adamnan transcribed, it may be from dictation, but perhaps also from memory! The result is almost as unsatisfactory as the music lessons which Félicien David was engaged to give to the ladies of the *harim* of the Khedive of Egypt. As etiquette forbade the teacher to come into direct contact with the pupils, he had to give the lessons to the *harim* attendants, who passed them on as best they could!

In any case, most of the work of collating the testimony of pilgrims has already been done, and its repetition here does not add much to our knowledge of the building. The architectural observations are chiefly founded on the work of Willis, and on the later studies of Mr. Jeffery. Outline plans represent the probable disposition of the buildings at different times, and Bonfils' familiar photograph of the entrance serves as a frontispiece.

On the whole it may be said that the book will be found a convenient guide to anyone who wishes for more than a mere tourist's understanding of how the buildings have assumed their present form and disposition. But the reader will have to study it diligently, for it is not so lucidly written that it can be read at ease in an arm-chair; he will have to make little corrections here and there, as when Francesco Quaresmio is referred to—for that valuable author always appears disguised as "Quaresimus"; and his soul will be continually vexed by the total absence of an index.

Bible and Spade (*the Bross Lectures*, 1921). By [the late] Prof. J. P. Peters. Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark. 8*s*.

Here is one more of the growing series of books that have appeared in recent years on the subject of excavation in relation to Biblical exegesis. The author of such a book must necessarily traverse ground that has been covered by his predecessors: so here we meet once more with our old friends the Creation Tablets,

Enmeduranki, Joseph-el and Jacob-el, the Khabiru, and Hammurabi. One could almost wish that there might be a "close time" for these and similar perennials. There is as yet really nothing new to be said about them, and as each new book appears in which the old familiar facts and speculations are marshalled once more, one begins to resent the waste of time involved in reading about them over and over again.

Let it not, however, be supposed that the book before us is all a *rechauffé* of "stale news" of this kind. On the contrary, it contains much that is new and original: some interesting fresh facts revealed by recent Sumerian research are set forth in a convenient form; and some very ingenious interpretations of certain of the Psalms—a well-known special study of the lamented author—will be found in the chapter devoted to that section of the Scriptures. Prof. Peters was well known on this side of the Atlantic as an Old Testament scholar: his excellent volume on the Religion of the Hebrews winning him many friends.

The author's critical standpoint in the present work is on the whole conservative—some might even be tempted to call it extremely so. But it is not without some views that will seem strange to those who are acquainted with the prevailing view on the origin of the Semites. It is to be noted that Dr. Peters wholly rejects the Arabian origin of the Hebrews, whom he regards as immigrants from the North.

As is perhaps natural, most of the work is based on Dr. Peters' own researches, both in the field (at Nippur) and in the study. This gives it the advantage of first-hand evidence. No allusion is made to the unhappy controversies of which the Nippur work was a storm-centre some years ago: but one detects a certain [illegible] which allows us to understand how serious misunderstandings could arise. The present reviewer hopes that he will not be suspected of a desire to make too much of a personal matter if he calls attention to the following passage relating to the discovery of the "High Place" of Gezer:—

"The reputation of my good fortune in excavations in Babylonia had preceded me, enhanced by my good luck in helping to find the old cemetery of Marissa and its painted tombs, the most striking and picturesque discovery, certainly, which had been made in Palestine up to that time. The result was that the workmen regarded me, to use our phrase, as a mascot. They were sure that my coming would bring them in some way good luck, and they watched my every move. This

being called to my attention, I took advantage of it, and asked of Mr. MacAlister [*sic*] a favor. I had observed a certain stone projecting from the ground, from the character and position of which I was led to believe that there was something of great importance beneath . . . ."

He goes on to say that he requested me to excavate under this stone, with the result that the *maṣṣēbōth* were discovered. In view of the death of Dr. Peters I should prefer to let these remarks pass, but on the whole feel it right to state my recollection of the facts. I conducted Dr. Peters to the stone, which will be found marked on the first map of the excavations (*Q.S.*, 1902, p. 317), drawn before I had the pleasure of welcoming him to the site. I well remember informing him that I shortly intended to dig there—an intention of which he was good enough to approve warmly, though I may permit myself to remark that this approbation did not affect the choice of the site of operations. But it is his reference to the workmen that is really bewildering. I do not know who told him that they regarded him as a "mascot"; it certainly was not I, and I was the only one on the spot at the time connected with the works who could speak English. In any case, though the Arabs no doubt wear amulets, the cult of "mascots" is essentially a folly of European civilisation. No doubt the workmen stared at him, as they stared at every globe-trotter who came on the scene from time to time while the excavation lasted. As to their being impressed by the reputation of his undoubtedly important work at Nippur, I venture to assert that they knew no more of Nippur than they did of Shepherd's Bush, and no more of Dr. Peters' work there than they did of the exploits of Hengist and Horsa.

To turn to some other points of detail. Is it really the case that the Sumerian language continued among the Semitic Babylonians and among the Assyrians as a "Church language" *down almost to the time of Christ?* (p. 102). There are one or two annoying misprints, as when Palestine is written "Pealestine" (p. 172) in a hyperbolical statement that "Palestine has been mapped in a way in which no other country is mapped." This is rather hard on the Ordnance Survey of the British Islands, and on the beautiful official maps of France. On p. 185 "Gezer" should be "Gibeon," or, preferably, "El-Jib." The absence of an index is highly regrettable.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *The supposed "Hittite Deity"* (see *Q.S.*, 1922, p. 179).—By the courtesy of Mr. Raffaeli in sending fresh impressions of his antique glass paste signet, I have been able to devote some further study to the design. This only tends to confirm the previous opinion that the two figures portrayed are derived from Greek art. The larger is represented as seated upon a four-legged throne, with the right arm extended, and supported by a long staff, or sceptre. The smaller figure has the left arm raised, and the finger in its mouth—the usual conventional attitude employed to express the childish innocence of Horus. The group is, therefore, designed to show Isis and Horus. The attitude of Horus is ultimately derived from the conventional Egyptian representation of a child; but the larger figure is distinctly Greek, and therefore the whole must be referred to the Greek period.

An enlarged copy of the inscription has been made, as it appears to my own eye, from the impressions furnished. The strokes on the glass paste have been roughly cut with a lapidary's wheel; and it must be confessed that the epigraphy is strange and peculiar. The first and last characters may be intended for ת . . . ל; although, in some lights, the first has the appearance of an א. This may possibly be due to a crack across the face of the stone. The portion which Mr. Raffaeli takes to be a ת is more likely to be two separate characters, the first of which has the aspect of a ב; the whole group appears to be an illiterate imitation of an inscription, made for someone who would be satisfied with the appearance of a signet, without knowing or caring for exactitude.

E. J. Pilcher.

November 8th, 1922.

2. *The water-supply of Tel Aviv (Jaffa)*.—Mr. S. Folkowsky, of Tel Aviv (Jaffa), writing on December 1st, points out an error in a quotation made in the article on "The New Health Service in Palestine," in the October issue of the *Quarterly Statement*.

On p. 153 occurs the statement (quoted from the "Annual Report," p. 56) that all the piped town-water supplies of Palestine including Tel Aviv "are inadequate, incomplete and unsatisfactory," and that "the Jerusalem supply, installed by the army in 1918, is by far the best . . . ." To this Mr. Folkowsky replies that "the following is a comparison of the actual facts :—

Name of Town :	Jerusalem.	Tel Aviv.
Number of inhabitants... ...	60,000	12,000
Length of pipes	—	13,500 metres
Total daily supply	150,000 gallons	660,000 gallons
Average daily supply per each inhabitant	2 ·5 gallons	55 gallons
Cost of water per family per year	£18	£3

"In Tel Aviv, all the water comes from wells constructed and operated by the township, and the pipes are carried into the houses and are directly connected with the kitchens, bathrooms and lavatories."

In Jerusalem, however, according to the statement in the Director of Health's report, "house connections for the poorer inhabitants are impossible on account of the prohibitive cost of the water (£18 per annum), and in any case a supply of less than 150,000 gallons daily for a city of over 60,000 inhabitants allows only of street standard pipes and a few connections to hospitals, orphanages and similar institutions and to the more wealthy houses . . . . The bulk of the Jerusalem drinking water . . . . still comes from its 6,600 privately-owned rain-water cisterns" (see *Q.S.*, p. 153).

Mr. Folkowsky concludes : "I venture to hope that in the light of the foregoing explanations, readers of the *Quarterly Statement* will agree with me that between the water-supply of Jerusalem and that of Tel Aviv, it is the latter that deserves to be called 'by far the best.'"

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ ך	kh
ב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ ם	m
ג	g	נ ן	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ ף	p
ה	h	פ ף	f
ו	v, w	צ ץ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	ש	sh
י	y	ש	s
כ ך	k	ת	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting will be held in the latter part of June, at a date and place which will be announced later.

We much regret that up to the moment of going to press we are unable to make any definite statement regarding the commencement of the excavation of "The City of David" on Mount Ophel, Jerusalem. We had hoped to be able to announce plans for commencing work next May, but there are financial difficulties which at this moment seem insurmountable. The Government of Palestine are unwilling to give any permit for excavation until a sum of *at least* £5,000 is guaranteed, and up to the present nothing like this sum is forthcoming. If there is much delay, the coming season with very special opportunities, which cannot recur, will be lost. Great as will be the disappointment to many, this will in no sense mean the abandonment of the proposal, and we shall lay all our plans for starting work in 1924. The Palestine Exploration Fund Committee have definitely committed themselves to this proposal, and we again appeal for support to all those who realise the greatness of the present opportunity in relation both to Biblical History and to general archaeology. It may be added that the promised guarantee need not be for one year, but may be spread over two or three years.

We publish in this issue the report on the stratification of Askalon by Mr. Phythian-Adams. It contains a careful and detailed survey of all the facts with accompanying plans and illustrations. It has not been possible to print all the illustrations which were sent, and those which are held over are preserved at the office of the Fund, and can be seen there. In the nature of the case the report is to a certain extent technical, being based upon pottery and other objects, and the attention of readers may therefore be drawn to the summary of the results on p. 77. Some valuable and enduring conclusions have been reached, and these will undoubtedly be of extreme interest for all excavations henceforth. It has repeatedly happened in the past, that excavations, though seemingly without any sensational results, have made valuable contributions to our general knowledge of ancient archaeology, and the same can be said of the work at Askalon. We are gradually building up a broader picture of ancient life and thought, and the problem of the Philistines and of their influence upon the land of Palestine is now advanced a stage further.

We regret to have to report the death of Prof. Harvey Porter, of the General Committee, who died on January 12th at his home in Beirut, in his seventy-ninth year.

Mr. Raffaeli writes to contest Mr. Pilcher's note, "The Supposed 'Hittite Deity'" (*Q.S.*, p. 50). He remarks that Prof. Garstang holds that the design represents the Hittite mother-goddess and son, and adds that Prof. Sayce, discussing the Cappadocian tablets (Petrograd Collection), recognised a Hittite goddess Khati. Mr. Raffaeli maintains that the engraver of the object, being probably a Semitic worshipper in Syria, inscribed on it the name of the deity in Aramaic letters. A third and neutral opinion on the contested point would be desirable.

A new chronological classification of Palestinian archaeology has been drawn up by the representatives of the three archaeological Schools in Jerusalem.

I. Stone Age—
   i. Palaeolithic.
   ii. Neolithic.

II. Bronze Age—
  i. Early Canaanite to 2000 B.C.
  ii. Middle Canaanite, 2000–1600 B.C.
  iii. Late Canaanite, 1600–1200 B.C.

III. Iron Age—
  i. Early Palestinian, 1200–600 B.C. { (*a*) Philistine. (*b*) Israelite.
  ii. Middle Palestinian, 600–100 B.C. { (*a*) Jewish. (*b*) Hellenistic.
  iii. Late Palestinian, 100 B.C.–636 A.D. { (*a*) Roman. (*b*) Byzantine.

IV. Modern—
  i. Early Arab, 636–1100 A.D.
  ii. Middle Arab, 1100–1500 A.D.
  iii. Late Arab 1500–

It is signed John Garstang, Louis Vincent, W. F. Albright and W. J. Phythian-Adams; and it is pointed out that, in practice, use will be made of the terms Hellenistic, 330–100 B.C., Roman, 100 B.C.–350 A.D., and Byzantine, 350–636 A.D.

The difficulty of finding a completely satisfactory scheme in the present stage of our knowledge of early Palestinian history is obvious; but the above table has the weighty support of the authorities on the spot, and is commended to the attention of our readers.

Subscribers will recollect that the map of the Negeb or Wilderness of Zin, which should have accompanied the 1914–15 Annual, had then to be withheld from publication owing to the War. The Committee are glad to announce that the map has now been prepared for the Fund by the War Office, and a copy will be supplied gratis to those Members desirous of procuring it to complete their record of the 1914 Survey. Applications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

Photo-relief map of Palestine: This popular little map, which is reproduced by collotype process from the well-known raised maps, has been reprinted and is now on sale. It measures (with margin)

29 × 19 inches and contains some hundreds of Biblical names. The price to subscribers is 2*s.* 6*d.*, and to non-subscribers 3*s.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 57–58.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special donations:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
British Academy, Schweich Grant ...	100	0	0
Miss Julia Lindley, Life Member ...	26	0	0
F. Castor Taylor, Esq.	10	10	0
Lt.-Col. W. H. Turton	10	0	0
George Mathieson, Esq.	8	0	0
Rev. J. Hewetson	5	5	0
Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Laidley	5	0	0
Prof. W. A. Elmslie	5	0	0
Mrs. R. M. Caulfield	1	1	0
C. de Grave Sells, Esq.	1	1	0
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Chas. C. Walker, Esq.	1	1	0
Miss Tighe	1	1	0
Mrs. Ross Scott	1	1	0
Canon T. E. Usherwood	1	1	0
C. H. Hagger, Esq.	0	5	0

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee beg to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

From Dr. H. R. Hall (British Museum) : A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities, 3rd ed., revised and enlarged.

The Committee have also to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Near East : A weekly review of the politics and commerce of Egypt, India, Syria, etc. ; letters from Palestine, etc.

The Annual of the British School at Athens, No. XXIV, with supplement No. I. Sessions 1919–20, 1920–21. Excavations in Mycenae, by A. J. B. Wace and W. Lamb ; Laconia, by J. J. E. Hondius A. M. Woodward and A. M. Hondius Van Haeften ; Macedonia, by S. Casson, etc., etc.

The Prophets of Israel, in History and Criticism : By Harold M. Wiener, LL.B.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, Oct., 1922.

The Witness of Archaeology to the Bible (a paper read at the Victoria Institute) : By Miss A. M. Hodgkin.

The Expository Times.

Bible Lands.

Palestine : The organ of the British Palestine Committee.

The Zionist Review.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Dec., 1922.

American Journal of Archaeology, 1922, No. 4. The excavations at Sardes, by T. L. Shear ; Survey of Oriental, Classical, Medieval and American Archaeology.

The Jewish Quarterly Review.

Art and Archaeology.

Old Babylonian Contracts: By E. Chiera, University of Pennsylvania, the University Museum, Babylonian Section, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1922.

The Homiletic Review.

International Index to Periodicals, Vol. X, No. 4.

The Hebrew Christian Alliance Quarterly.

Revue Biblique, Jan. 1923. Three Arab inscriptions from the Haram of Hebron; Jerusalem: the tomb at Baṭn el-Hawa; a Roman villa at Jifna; antiquities at Ṭul Keram; Topography of Nablus, by R. P. Abel.

Jerusalem: Recherches de Topographie, d'Archéologie et d'histoire, Vol. II. Jérusalem Nouvelle, by Fathers Hugues Vincent and Abel.

Journal Asiatique, 1922, Nos. 1, 2.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.

Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, Vol. II, No. 3: The division of the year in Palestine, by St. H. Stephan; le culte de Jonas en Palestine, by F.-M. Abel, O.P.; one Aphek or four? by Prof. W. F. Albright, etc.

Studies in Palestine Customs and Folklore: I. Judicial courts among the Bedouin of Palestine, by Omar Effendi el-Barghuthi; II. Haunted springs and water demons in Palestine, by T. Canaan, Dr.Med. (Reprinted and enlarged from the "Journal of the Pal. Or. Soc.")

Palestine Weekly, March 16: the town of es-Salt.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ, Jan.: Palestine in Arabian philology, by Eugene Michaeldos.

Al-Mashrīk, Jan. 1923. Description de quelques antiquités syriennes, by Fathers Ronzevalle and René Monterde. Feb., Les anciens Ermitages et les Ermites du Mont Liban, by P. Libaus Dagher.

Le Christianisme et la Littérature Chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam, Part II. By P. L. Cheikho, S.J., 1923.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

Prof. Flinders Petrie's *Tell el-Hesy* (*Lachish*).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener*.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

REPORT ON THE STRATIFICATION OF ASKALON.

By W. J. Phythian-Adams, M.A., D.S.O., M.C.

1.—*The Strata.*

The stratigraphical results obtained in our first season's work (*see Q.S.*, 1921, p. 163 ff.), though highly satisfactory in themselves,

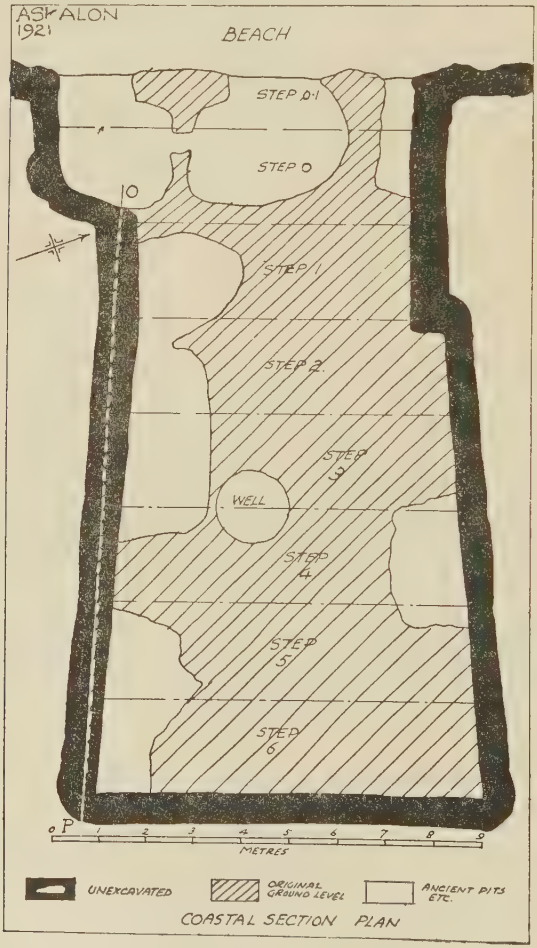


Fig. 1.

could not be regarded as conclusive. The section then cut in the northern scarp was indeed regarded only in the light of a

reconnaissance, and it was determined that a similar examination should be undertaken on a very much larger scale during the season of 1921. The spot selected for the new cutting was in Field 19, on the cliffs, just south of the little Wely of el-Khadra. Here we were already provided with an almost perpendicular outer face, and the task of cutting our steps was thus much simplified.

The surface area of the section at the summit was 12·40 m. wide by 12 m. deep, but, as we descended, it became necessary to contract the trench, shelves being left at intervals round its walls in order to catch any stones or other debris which might fall, or be tumbled over, on the heads of the workmen below.

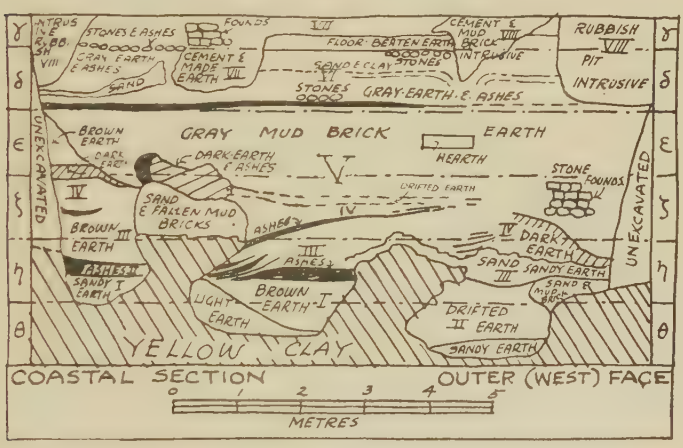


Fig. 2.

The area ultimately excavated to the bottom is seen in Fig. 1 (Coastal Section, Plan). The method of procedure was to cut down by a series of "steps" 2 m. deep and 1 m. high (the first layer was 1·70 m. high), keeping the pottery fragments separately numbered, as described in my Report on Soundings at Gaza. The outer (*i.e.*, seaward) face of the cut was "shaved down" as rapidly as possible in order to give us a good idea of the stratification which we were likely to meet, and as the spoil earth from the upper steps was thrown out on the flanks of the cut, this work was very easily performed. The result (Fig. 2) showed that we might expect some interesting features, especially near the bottom of the trench, where

three small caves or pits came to light, and horizontal levels of ashes at intervals above them seemed to promise a succession of distinctive strata.

The eastern wall of the trench, as finally laid bare (Fig. 3), may be compared with this outer face and also with the south wall of the cut (Fig. 4), which practically joins the two together. The

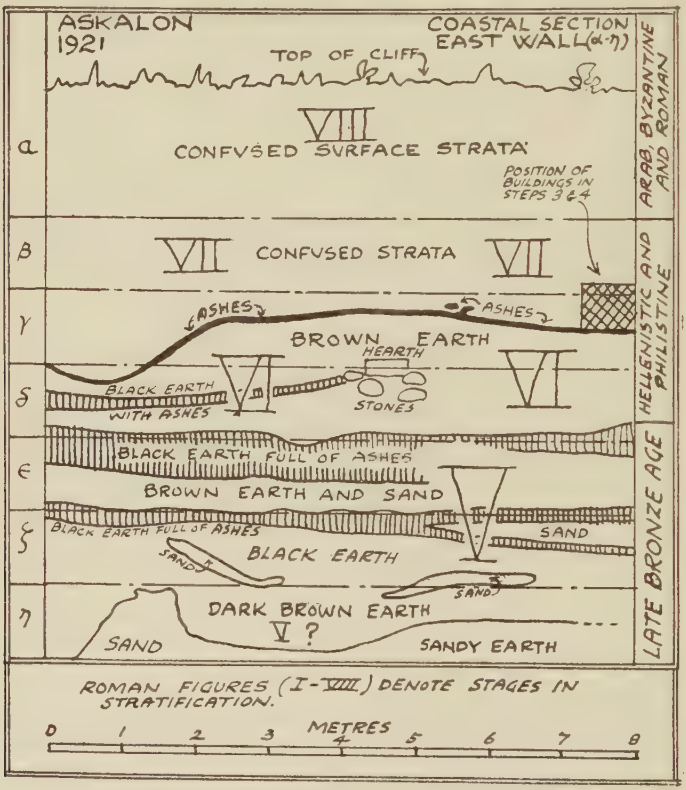


Fig. 3.

differences in level, which will be observed in these diagrams (Fig. 2, γ–θ, Fig. 3, α–η, Fig. 4, δ–ι), is accounted for by the fact that when they were being prepared the upper steps had either been removed, or so recessed by "shelving" that a "flat" section was impossible. It had, however, been already noticed that the debris of the first two steps was so confused as to leave no stratification whatsoever, and that the important layer of foundations in

β and γ (No. VII in Figs. 2 and 3) was the highest which survived: the absence of the upper metres in these diagrams is thus for our present purpose unimportant.

Mention has been made of buildings in levels β and γ. These formed the almost obliterated ruins of a series of small rooms, to the east of which was a well, completely choked with earth. All tracings of its stone lining—if it ever had one—disappeared a metre below its rim, and it was not until later that we found unpleasant evidences of its existence in the lower levels. Steps 3 and 4 were continually producing specimens of Arab and Roman pottery, the presence of which in the lowest layer of all (θ/ι) was at first entirely inexplicable. On investigating the ground, however, we found a dark circle of earth outlined like an enormous penny in the yellow clay of the original ground surface. Its colouring had made it

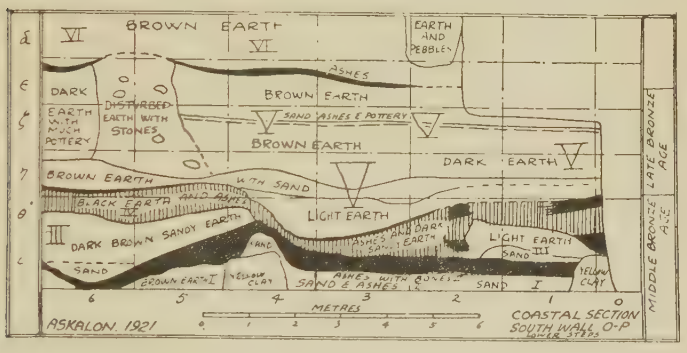


Fig. 4.

indistinguishable from the black debris above this surface, but it showed clearly that our well had somehow or other been bored to the bottom of the mound, though whether it had ever produced water is a much more doubtful matter.

A word must now be said on the successive steps of stratification which appear in Figs. 2 and 4. These are intended as a guide to the chief features of the cut rather than as a final interpretation of those features. Within certain limits, however, they may be regarded as conclusive, for they are supported by the overwhelming evidence of the pottery. The dividing line between the Bronze and Iron Ages may be taken as the most striking example of this agreement. It will be noticed that a thick line of ashes and black

earth runs almost horizontally along the level of the top of ϵ (Fig. 3), that it preserves approximately the same level from the back to the front (west face) of the trench (Fig. 4), and that when it emerges at the coast it is still in the same position (Fig. 2.) This stratum of ashes corresponds with a complete change in the nature of the pottery. Below this line the white slip wish-bone handle bowl and the "Base ring" wares (*see* Pl. I) occur in great quantities with fairly numerous fragments of Mycenean lustrous wares and other vases typical of the Late Bronze Age; above it these fragments disappear, and are replaced by the typical Philistine cup with horizontal loop handles and the very conspicuous red "pebble-burnished" wares which are a feature of the same period all over Palestine (*see* Pl. II).[1] In the accompanying diagram the fragments of small bowls in columns 4 and 5 belong to the same class as the loop-handled cups, and may in some cases actually have belonged to them.

Distribution of Fragments.
(Fig. 5.)

Col.		θ	η	ζ	ϵ	δ	γ
1	White slip wish-bone handled bowls	1	23	88	148	8	4
2	"Base ring" wares	1	22	53	103	3	–
3	Horizontal loop handles	–	–	–	5	58	9
4	Small bowls with turn-in rim	–	–	–	1	16	–
5	Small bowls with turn-out rim	–	–	–	1	99	3
6	"Pebble-burnished wares"	–	–	–	2	41	71

These figures speak for themselves with no uncertain voice, but when we compare their evidence with that of the stratification, making the small "overlap" allowance which is necessary for its fluctuations along the course of the trench, the combined result

[1] For a description of the contents of the Plates, *see* below, pp. 79–84. Separate and enlarged drawings of each of the pieces were sent by Mr. Phythian-Adams, and can be seen at the Office of the P.E.F.

removes any vestige of doubt, while it provides an invaluable criterion for distinguishing the Bronze and Iron Age pottery of Palestine.

A detailed examination of the pottery fragments will be found on a later page, but it may be said here that its evidence not only confirms that of Ain Shems to a remarkable degree, but has itself been since confirmed by the results which we obtained from Gaza and Tell Jemmeh, and (*mutatis mutandis*) from our excavations in the Plain of Acre (*see* Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, No. 2, 1922).[1]

As regards the details of the stratifications, we may tentatively distinguish eight main stages, though the last of these must include the whole of the Roman, Byzantine and Arab periods. The history of the site opens (I) with the curious hollows which were found scattered over the area of the trench (Figs. 1 and 4), and served either as grain pits or pit dwellings. The depth of these varied within the levels *η* and *ι*, but a study of the stratification shows that they were contemporary. They seem to have been roofed with beams or brushwood, for at the period of their destruction (Stage II) this covering apparently collapsed inwards upon the centre (*cf.* Fig. 4, *θ'ι*, 6). All of them were otherwise open to the sky, for there is no trace on their floors of any debris from a fallen roof of earth. A period of reoccupation (Stage III) was followed by a second destruction (Stage IV), and this in turn by a much longer and calmer period of occupation (V), which ends only with the advent of the Philistines, and may be roughly dated from 1400 to 1190 B.C. (Late Bronze Age).

The Philistine occupation proper (VI and VII) covered a depth of about two metres, but towards the end of the period (*c.* 1190–400 B.C.) the traces of Greek, and finally of Hellenistic, wares became more and more conspicuous, while the intrusion of much later debris soon put an end to all hope of distinguishing the strata with any accuracy. It is a sad fact that the advent of the Romans (and possibly of the Greeks before them) is generally responsible for the complete destruction of the strata in which they laid their extensive foundations.

The case of Hissarlik will be remembered by everybody, but it is only a conspicuous example of a disaster which must have

[1] The report on Tell Jemmeh is reserved for the next issue of the *Q.S.*—Ed.

been of common occurrence. Certainly at Askalon, where the Arabs and Crusaders added to the general confusion, the history of the site from, and including, Hellenistic times must be obtained from history, for it can never be interpreted by excavation.

2.—*The Pottery.*

It has been shown that the dividing line between the Bronze and Iron Age, or, as we may surely put it, between the Canaanites of Rameses II and the Philistines of Rameses III, is marked not only by a conspicuous line of ashes, which may and probably do indicate the capture and partial burning of the city, but also by the no less striking change which comes over the commonest types of pottery.

This change, we may add now, is not confined to the shapes of the vases only: it extends to the appearance of the clay employed, and to a less marked degree to the skill with which it was worked by the draftsman. The clay of the Bronze Age pots is in general of a much yellower tinge than that found commonly in the Iron Age, a fact which was illustrated both at Gaza and at Tell Jemmeh. In the former instance, especially, the change from red to buff was very pronounced, and was for a short time the only evidence we had of the existence of a new and earlier stratum in the mound. At Ain Shems the difference in colour between the pottery of the High Place and East Grotto and that of the later Tombs (1, 8, etc.) is no less conspicuous. Only the large amphorae seem to have varied little in this respect through their long history, and there were, as we shall see, other threads which link the two periods together and betray the survival of the original inhabitants of the land.

In manufacture the wheel-made vases of the Iron Age show often a great superiority over those of the earlier period, when the thumb was liberally used for finishing off handles, etc., yet when this has been said, it remains a fact that the most artistic epoch in Palestinian culture was that which closed about 1200 B.C.; from the Philistine invasion to the entrance of Greek influence there can be discerned nothing but a steady degradation.

When we consider the fragments in greater detail we find that we are really examining the remains of two almost distinct cultures (we are excluding the Hellenistic and later periods), the

VASE TYPES OF ASKALON: MIDDLE AND LATE BRONZE AGE.

first contemporary with our Stages I to V inclusive, the second with Stages VI and VII. The contrast between the two is exhibited in Pls. I and II. It is important to point out with regard to these photographs that many of the vases shown are derived from Ain Shems and other sites, including Cyprus, represented in the Palestine Museum, and have been chosen for greater clearness in place of the fragments which at Askalon were our only evidence for the presence of these types. Lest it be thought that such a substitution is dangerous, it must be stated that the principle "*ex pede Herculem*" is nowhere so applicable as in the domain of Palestinian archaeology, nor has it been followed in the present case, except where identity has been shown by experience to be certain; finally, the non-Askalonite vases selected for this purpose may be regarded without distrust as being in all cases perfectly typical of the culture-period with which they are associated, even though in some less important detail (slight variation in colour of clay, in rim-circumference, etc.) they are necessarily different from the fragments found upon the site.

The earlier (Canaanite) period, on closer investigation, falls into two not very clearly distinguishable parts. From the lowest stratum upwards the Cypriotic wish-bone handle and base-ring wares were in evidence, though at first they were very scarce (Pl. I, 6, 11, 12. *See also* Fig. 5 above). The evidence at our disposal seems to confine these wares in Palestine to the Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1400–1200 B.C.), and they were entirely absent in the High Place Grotto at Ain Shems. Nevertheless, the maritime position of Askalon may have brought them to her at an earlier date than could be expected in an inland city, and the remainder of the fragments found in η and ζ are certainly contemporary with the High Place Grotto period of Ain Shems.

Of the Early Bronze Age vases, usually distinguished by the ledge-handle, by comb-facing and other marked peculiarities, no trace was to be found at Askalon, with the exception of two pieces of red comb-faced ware, and two with a raised band roughly incised in niches (No. 1 and Pl. III, Nos. 38 and 40). Their presence indicates a comparatively early date for these strata (between 2000 and 1800 B.C.) and places the other wares found here in their right chronological *milieu*. Conspicuous among these latter were (*a*) the small black "punctured" vases,

generally regarded from their frequency at Tell el-Yehudiyeh[1] as being of Hyksos date (*c.* 1800 B.C.), and probably introduced into Egypt by those conquerors (Nos. II, III and IV, and Pl. I, Nos. 16 and 18).

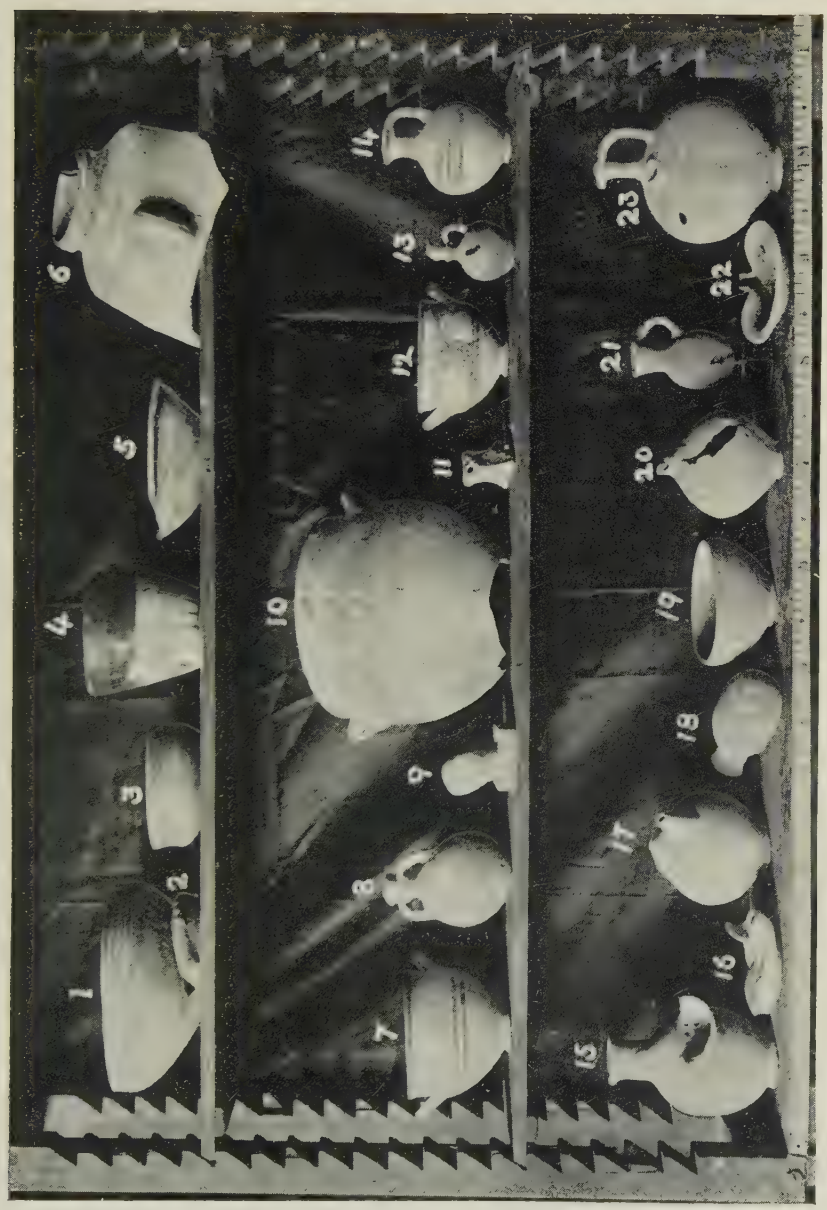
The "punctured" vases, though found in the Late Bronze Age deposits of Cyprus, seem in Palestine to be confined to the preceding period. They are accompanied by thin-necked bottles, often with a divided handle (Pl. I, 17) and button base (which they frequently have themselves). This divided handle, which occasionally carries a round button on the top, is easily recognizable amongst the wares of the Middle Bronze Age, and even where the division is non-existent the type can often be identified by the peculiar method of applying the handle to the bottle neck, not horizontally at the rim, but in a high curve which drops over and joins the neck at its own point of junction with the sloping shoulder of the vase. At Askalon this handle was also found on bottles larger than the normal type, and divided handles were frequently met with in these lower strata.

Both these and other vases are often covered at this period with a polished red slip, the clay of the pot itself being almost bright yellow, and not drab or buff. Pointed juglets of this kind and numerous unrecognizable fragments of other shapes were found at the same depth. The great bowl with the red cross in the interior (Pl. I, No. 14, from Ain Shems) belongs to this technique, the deeper colour being applied to the rim and cross and then burnished by hand. Fragments of this type came mostly from the lowest strata, and are therefore another excellent guide to the pottery of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine. Small bowls with a "metallic" shoulder (Pl. I, No. 19) seem also to be inseparably connected with the same culture. The top half of these is very often covered (on the exterior only) with the red pigment, which in this case appears to have been left unburnished, an accident probably due to the coarseness of the clay employed for the vase itself.

Finally the painted decoration, which will be discussed later, offers an invaluable criterion for judging the date of pottery.

[1] Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (1906), p. 15 and Pls. VII and VIII. Our Askalon examples belong to types 11, 12, etc., on Pl. VII of that work.

To face p. 68]



VASE TYPES OF ASKALON : EARLY IRON AGE.

A word may be said here on the incised fragments found in our trench. We have already noticed the early comb-faced and punctured wares, but in addition to these a few pieces of different technique occurred throughout the Bronze Age deposits. No. 5 (Pl. III, No. 35) is merely an imitation in burnished brown clay of the black punctured vases, but Nos. 6 (Pl. III, No. 34) and 7 represent a wholly new departure; they are, however, contemporary with the others, for another fragment of burnished brown clay was found in the same step: it is decorated with thinly incised herringbone lines (Pl. III, No. 33). The only other incised fragments found during these excavations came from the level above (No. 8 and Pl. III, Nos. 19, 20, and 21); it is certainly curious to find them in the middle of the late Bronze Age culture.

The late Bronze Age seems, as we have said, to represent the highest point of ancient Palestinian culture. It is during this period (*c.* 1400–1200 B.C.) that the well-made base-ring wares and wish-bone handle bowls were imported in large quantities, and even imitated in local clays. The characteristic "bilbil" (Pl. I, No. 11) and its larger brother (Pl. I, No. 6) and the cyma-shaped bowl (Pl. I, No. 12) were all well represented at Askalon (*cf.* Fig. 5). The last of these was imitated in a curious brown slip ware not hitherto met with in Palestine. The peculiar shape of the Cypriotic bowl does not seem to have been copied, since the fragments appear to belong to hemispherical vases, but the attempt at producing the brown metallic surface and the retention of the curious wish-bone handle are indications of what the native artist had in his mind. (There are, in fact, somewhat similar bowls in Cyprus.) Of the white slip wish-bone handle bowls (Pl. I, No. 9) little need be said. We realise to-day that they are the most conspicuous evidence for a Late Bronze Age deposit in a Palestinian site, for though it is true that degraded copies of them are to be found in later periods, the true ware, with its egg-like smoothness and whiteness, and its lustreless dark brown or black paint, passed away with the advent of new influences. This at least is the conclusion to which the combined evidence of Ain Shems, Askalon, Gaza, Tell Jemmeh, Tell Harbaj, Tell Amr and Tell Husn (Bethshan) must unquestionably lead us.

Three other vase types are often found in company with these "base-ring" and "white slip" wares: (*a*) the tall thin red bottle with slender loop and contracting neck (Pl. I, No. 13); (*b*) the white-pointed juglet smoothed down with a knife (Pl. I, No. 8); and (*c*) the lustrous-painted Mycenean wares, which will be dealt with later. A small alabaster chalice with button foot (intended for a separate stand of the same material) is now also to be recognized as one of the features of the Late Bronze Age culture. The example shown from Ain Shems (Pl. I, No. 7) is of a muddier yellow than the fragment found at Askalon, but enough survives of the latter to show that the shape and size are identical.

The vase shapes of the Mycenean wares may be briefly dismissed at this point. The pedestalled chalice seems to have been the commonest form at Askalon (Pl. III, Nos. 7 and 15), while other fragments suggest the popularity of the small pyx, but of the stirrup vase or the beaked vase there is no certain trace.

The coarser vases of this period were the large wine or oil amphorae, generally with a blunted foot, cooking pots of a gritty chocolate clay, shallow two-handled dishes, saucers and bowls of buff clay (Pl. I, Nos. 1, 3 and 5), and unornamented pointed juglets with ovoid mouth (Pl. I, No. 4).

The lamps follow the same development as at Ain Shems and elsewhere in Palestine (Pl. I, Nos. 15 and 2). Starting at the lowest level, with their lip hardly pinched and their base almost flat, they become gradually rounder and larger, and the gathering of the lip becomes more and more pronounced. This latter type persists through the first Philistine period, but as time goes on the lamp tends to flatten once more, while its rim becomes a horizontal flap (Pl. II, Nos. 16 and 22). The typical Israelite lamp, which "grows" a distinct base, was not to be seen at Askalon, and was therefore presumably confined to the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

It may be noted here that towards the end of this period, or perhaps rather to that immediately succeeding it, belongs a small blue paste scarab (*c* level) with the roughly incised figure of an animal.

We have now reached, and even overstepped, the dividing line between the Late Canaanite and Philistine cultures, and may

BRONZE AGE FRAGMENTS.

here summarise the salient points of resemblance and divergence between them.

The finer arts of the Late Bronze Age were imposed upon the Canaanites from outside. We have only to instance the Cypriotic and Mycenean wares to realise the truth of this. In neither case does the clay of which they are composed originate in Palestine, and the native imitations are themselves evidence that the originals were imported into the country. Exactly the same may now be said of the finer Philistine vases, though it is here the shape rather than the clay which constitutes the main proof. (Of the marked difference in decoration we shall speak later.) With the disappearance of the Late Bronze Age wares there comes a sudden influx of the horizontal loop handle of a type never before met with in Palestine. (This is not, of course, to say that no sort of horizontal loop handles existed there before this date: a specimen occurred in the bottom of *c*, but its finer clay, its position on the vase, and above all its circular shape, differentiate it at a glance from the true Philistine handles.)

Moreover, the vases to which these handles belonged are themselves of a type entirely new to the country. In place of the Mycenean chalice, the bilbil and the capacious white slip bowls, we find craters, cups and saucers, with highly characteristic decoration (Pl. II, Nos. 7, 10, 12 and 19). The kind of vessel, in fact, which in the preceding period had been made of the coarsest material and left undecorated, is now exalted to the front rank, and supersedes the bottles and flagons of the past. It is not merely a difference of technique: it is much more a difference in style of living, and when we realise that vessels of exactly the same kind have been found in Greece, Melos and Rhodes, and there dated to the third Late Helladic period, that is, between 1400 and 1100 B.C.,[1] we may dare to think once

[1] At Argos, Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum* (1905), Vol. II, p. 87, Fig. 15, p. 90, Fig. 18; At Mycenae, Schliemann, *Mycenae* (1878), p. 67, No. 28; Furtwaengler and Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen* (1886), Nos. 237, 241, 242, 318 and 328; Near Corinth, Blegen, *Korakou* (1921), pp. 60, 61, 62, Figs. 83, 85 and 86; In Melos, *Phylakopi* (1904), p. 147, Fig. 124; In Rhodes (Ialysus), Furtwaengler and Loeschcke, *op. cit.* Nos. 4, 5, 18 II, 31 XII; In Thessaly, Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly* (1912), pp. 210 and 211, Figs. 145D and 146D.

more of the "Achean" armour of Goliath, and re-examine with greater confidence the problem of Philistine origins.

It is, however, important to notice that in Palestine these vases are always of the coarse local clay, sometimes, but by no means always, covered with a white wash, on which the patterns are painted in lustreless red and black. The fine Late Mycenean clay and lustrous paint are conspicuous by their absence, although there is one specimen in the Palestine Museum (probably from Tell Es-Safi) which seems in technique to stand halfway between the two. The conclusion is obvious. While the finer vases of the Late Bronze Age were made outside Palestine, those of the Early Iron Age were made in the country in imitation (presumably) of vases to which the makers were accustomed when they lived elsewhere. Thus, the fact that Late Mycenean *shapes*, such as the "Stirrup Vase" (Pl. II, No. 23), survived the end of the "Canaanite" period cannot be taken as evidence for the continuity of the local culture, since these shapes belong equally well to the "sub-Mycenean," "Achaean" or "Third Late Helladic" culture, and were probably as much the possession of the newcomers as their loop-handled cups and craters and the spouted vases (Pl. II, Nos. 15 and 17) which habitually accompany them.[1]

Simultaneously with these, the red pebble-burnished pottery makes its appearance. This type of decoration varies only in technique from that which existed in the Middle Bronze Age, and apparently vanished at its close. The deep red pigment is laid upon the reddish buff surface of the clay, and then burnished on the wheel by a flint or pebble. The polished red slip vases of earlier times differ from this new variety in (*a*) difference of clay; (*b*) the completeness with which the slip is laid on; (*c*) the method by which an even "over-all" high polish was produced. In the Philistine "pebble-burnished" wares the concentric rings caused by the polishing instrument can generally be distinguished, a technical peculiarity quite unknown before. The shapes, also, are entirely distinct. The "metallic" shoulder disappears, and gives place to rounder forms (Pl. II, Nos. 1, 3 and 5) or flat-bottomed plates. The distribution of the pigment over the vase-surface varies considerably, but it *always* covers the interior.

[1] To these may be added the peculiar "pilgrim bottles" (Pl. II, No. 8), which become very frequent at the beginning of this period at Askalon.

To face p. 72.]

EARLY IRON AGE FRAGMENTS.

These vessels were not provided with handles, and as they were not intended to be hung up (like the Cypriot painted plates) their underside was often neglected by the potter.

At Askalon, as at Ain Shems, these red-burnished wares ended in displacing the painted Philistine cups and craters (*cf.* Ain Shems, Tomb I, etc.). Painted decoration became confined to a few black bands on the red surface (Pl. II, No. 6), and continued in this condition during the period of the early wares of Greece, Rhodes, etc., when they seem to have disappeared for ever. The survival of certain painted designs which we are now about to consider, and of the continuous lamp development mentioned above, form, with these pebble-burnished wares, strong evidence of the persistence of the native craftsman, whose natural tendencies seem to have been submerged first under a flood of Cypriotic and Mycenean imports, and then beneath the exotic influences of the new Philistine invaders. The use of the red pigment for colouring the surface of a vase may thus prove to have survived in obscurity through the Late Bronze Age and the beginnings of the Philistine domination, and the change of shape need be due to nothing else than the general influence of the newcomers and the disappearance of the metal prototypes from which the pots were copied; the peculiar concentric burnishing is, of course, due to an improved wheel and greater skill in using it.

We have left the discussion of the painted wares to the last as forming almost an independent problem, or at least one which can best be handled by itself.

The earliest strata at Askalon are distinguished chiefly by the use of staring white and of blue, both of them "colours" which disappeared in the Late Bronze Age deposits above (Pl. III, Nos. 29 and 30). Other styles of decoration, however, occur, and these were longer lived: (*a*) the use of the geometric band and zigzag in black and red, or brown (No. 9 and Pl. III, Nos. 23 and 24), survived into Philistine times; (*b*) the animal design of No. 10 (Pl. III, Nos. 14, 17 and 37) held its own for the same number of centuries (*cf.* Nos. 21–26). This peculiar form of decoration, in which the whole animal is depicted in red or black "silhouette," appears to have been of native origin, though it contrasts with the other early technique (which belongs to

Style I) of drawing the object in outline and filling in the details with spots or lines of red and black (Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, Pl. III, Nos. 25, 26, 27, 31). Apart from this marked difference, moreover, the colours used, though shown in our sketches diagrammatically as "Red," may be distinguished from one another as "Burnt Sienna" and "Vermilion" respectively.

Of clearly imported vases we have two distinct types: (*a*) those made of very fine yellow clay decorated with bands of lustrous or semi-lustrous orange-red pigment (Nos. 15 and 16, Pl. III, Nos. 28 and 32), which has in the one case been laid on so thickly as to stand up in relief from the surface of the vase—these are strongly suggestive of Middle Bronze Age Cyprus; (*b*) the curious black slip Cypriotic (?) ware, painted over with close parallel brush-strokes of red (*cf.* Myres, Cesnola Collection, Fabric IV, pp. 30/31). The vases so decorated were usually open bowls with a trough spout and some kind of wish-bone handle. The firing had often been carried so far as to turn the black slip into red itself, so that it is at first difficult to detect the red lines painted upon it. The clay, as in Cyprus, is a fine light yellow (Pl. III, No. 22).

During the Late Bronze Age, though Styles I and II continue (Nos. 17 and 18, Pl. III, Nos. 17 and 18), the entrance of "Mycenean" wares tend to throw them into the background. Typical of these latter are our Nos. 19, 20, 21, and 22, and Pl. III, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15. The octopus motif of No. 19 (Pl. III, No. 2) is repeated on a much thicker and coarser fragment of doubtful origin, the clay being smooth and the paint lustrous, while the general finish, especially on the interior surface, is too crude to be genuine "Mycenean" (Pl. III, No. 4). It may be noted that the motif of No. 17 (Pl. III, No. 17) (two goats (?) on their hind legs on either side of a tree) appears to have been a common one at this date, as we found a more elaborate specimen (in Style I) at Tell el-Harbaj in the Plain of Acre. (Bulletin No. 2 of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, p. 13, and Pl. IV, No. 1.) Style II did not confine itself to the exterior face of the vase, for one fragment shows a palm tree painted on the *inside* of a bowl (Pl. III, No. 16). The "Palm tree and Panel zigzag" decoration of bowls of the Philistine period (Macalister, Gezer, II, 291) carries on this tradition,

and our fragment may thus be regarded as the transition from the old burnished cross to this more decorative type of ornamentation.

With the beginning of the Early Iron Age, though Styles I and II continue, the latter even increasing in popularity (Nos. 23, 24, 25, 26, and Pl. IV, Nos. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32) an entirely new style (III) makes its appearance, in connection always with the cups and craters, which we have already identified as belonging to the Philistine newcomers. This style chiefly consists (as has long been recognized) in the employment of certain motifs which are now seen for the first time, notably the spiral (Nos. 27, 28, 29, and Pl. IV, Nos. 19 and 23), the four spoked wheel or cross (Nos. 28, 29 and 30, and Pl. IV, No. 21: the "spokes" are generally red and black alternately), and the peculiar swan-like bird common on all "Philistine" sites of this age, but unfortunately not well represented at Askalon (Pl. IV, Nos. 22 and 24). In addition to these, the chequer-board (No. 31, Pl. IV, No. 20) is sufficiently common to merit attention. The difference of technique between the Canaanite and Philistine artists has long ago been pointed out (see especially Vincent, *Canaan*, p. 324); in this respect our No. 32 (Pl. IV, No. 25) in Style III may be contrasted with the similar fish of Style I (No. 12, Pl. III, No. 27), but it must be admitted that the example is not so striking as the more common and characteristic bird.

Nos. 33 and 34 (*cf.* Pl. IV, Nos. 1, 3, 10, 11, 14 and 16) are examples of imported wares which appear towards the middle of the period (but see notes in "Description of Plates"), and in addition to these we find the small red and black Cypriotic bottle (Pl. II, No. 13), which is ascribed by Myres to the Hellenic Age (500–300 B.C., Cesnola Collection, p. 107, No. 833). Here, however (as at Ain Shems, Tomb I), it would seem to be earlier, since in the first place the duck fragment (No. 35, Pl. IV, No. 17) which occurs above it can hardly be put later than 500 B.C., while the typical black figure Attic wares (*c.* 500 B.C. ?) (No. 36, and Pl. IV, Nos. 2, 9, 18) and the black varnished fragments of the succeeding century (Pl. IV, No. 7) are found only sparsely towards the top of γ, and reach their maximum frequency in β. Between these and the earlier imported

vases several types seem to intervene. Two fragments (*cf.* Pl. IV, No. 8) are made of a very thin fine yellow clay, covered partially on the outside and wholly on the inside with a glossy greenish-black varnish. One had a horizontal loop handle (broken off), while another has an additional ornamentation in the nature of thin bands of purple paint round the top of the rim and the inside of the bottom of the vase. A fragment of a similar but much larger and more coarsely made pot (thumb marks, for example, are greatly in evidence) also possessed a horizontal loop handle, and a less glossy coat of varnish on the outside of the rim, the handle and the body.

Another type of ware (Pl. IV, Nos. 5 and 6) has a black semi-lustrous slip laid over a fairly coarse red clay and decorated in its turn with a band of red between two thin bands of white. The inside of the vase was left untreated. This scheme of the red band between the white occurred on a small, much finer, fragment, the varnish and painting being both outside and inside the vase (Pl. IV, No. 4). Possibly they come from Daphnae or Naucratis.[1]

The evidence of the Greek pottery is somewhat confused, owing to intrusive rubbish heaps, which have broken up the stratification, but if we may assume the black figure fragments (Nos. 36, 37, Pl. IV, Nos. 2, 9 and 18) to represent the beginning of the fifth century (their sketchy workmanship suggests this as the earliest possible date for them) we can assign the crude meander pattern vase (Pl. IV, No. 13) to the same period, and the numerous fragments with greenish-black glaze to this and the succeeding century. One vase, with black-varnished exterior and the remains of a red-varnished interior surface, is stamped with small palmettes, a style which can be fixed with some certainty as belonging to the fourth century B.C.[2] To the same century may be attributed the moulded swan's neck (Pl. IV, No. 15) which was originally covered with black varnish.

These later debased forms of Attic vases lead us without a break to the Hellenistic period, and from this point onwards painting disappears and the "Arretine" wares predominate. With

[1] The latter is the opinion of Dr. Hogarth.

[2] *Cf.* Walter, *History of Ancient Pottery* (1905), I, 212.

the Arab pottery which forms the latest debris we are not here concerned.

3.—*Summary of Results.*

We may now briefly summarise the results obtained. The foundation of Askalon appears to have taken place at the end of the Early Bronze Age, or in other words, during the "Hyksos" period (*c.* 1800 B.C.). The culture was at first almost entirely native, and made use of the clays and pigments of the country, but later, probably at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a great change began to pass over the face of Canaan. Trade must have developed with great rapidity, and the vases of Cyprus and the Mycenean world obtained an undisputed supremacy over the local fabrics. This fact is confirmed by every site so far scientifically explored in Palestine.

At a moment which we must assume from historical evidence to coincide with the immigration of the Philistines (*i.e.*, *c.* 1190 B.C.) we find a sudden and almost complete change of culture. Not only are the Cypriotic wares annihilated, but the vases which take their place are markedly distinct from them, both in clay and decoration. These new fabrics, though sometimes using the old Mycenean shapes, differ from the older wares in being of local manufacture, and employing forms which, *though of Mycenean or sub-Mycenean date in the Aegean Area, have not so far been found in Palestine as true Mycenean imports.* The principal example of these latter is, as we have seen, the cup and crater with horizontal loop handles, which arrived in Greece early enough to join the company of Late Mycenean or Third Late Helladic fabrics, but which is never seen in Palestine until the arrival of the Early Iron Age culture in that country. This fact alone might be susceptible of various explanations, but when it is found combined with a similar importation of new motifs, especially the swan-like bird, the spoked wheel or cross, and the swastika, which was long the trade-mark of Philistine Gaza, it becomes necessary to ask whence such motifs could be derived. That the Philistine bird was not developed from the Canaanite bird is evident (apart from superficial dissimilarity) from the fact that in course of time the meaning of its characteristic posture

became obscure and was degraded into a mere symbol.[1] That it was not derived from a Cretan, a Mesopotamian, an Egyptian, or an Anatolian bird it is perhaps hardly necessary to point out; on the other hand, whether it be a coincidence or not, we do find almost exactly the same bird in *Greece* during the Third Late Helladic Period,[2] in conjunction both with the spiral and chequer-board and with the characteristic bowls which we have quoted above. Yet these motifs were not native to Mycenean Greece—they were themselves importations. Does this perhaps throw some light on Philistine origins? This is not the place to answer so difficult a question: all that we can say is that there appears to be growing up a very strong body of evidence which favours a Balkan homeland for these invaders. We are still far from the solution of the problem, but the excavations at Askalon have given us a most important clue by striking the true dividing line between the Canaanite and Philistine civilisations.[3]

[1] The swan (if it is a swan) is very often shown with its head turned round in the act of pluming its feathers, one wing being at the same time lifted to undergo the process. This familiar movement was presumably chosen by the original artists to give a clue to the nature of their somewhat amorphous sketch, but there came a time when the head was shown facing to the front, while the wing remained suspended and meaningless in the air, and finally we get the neck starting from the middle of the spine! so much out of sympathy with the motif were the native artists of Palestine.

[2] At Argos, Waldstein, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. LV, Nos. 40, 43 and 44A; at Mycenae, Schliemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. X, Nos. 40, 42, 43 and 45; at Corinth, Blegin, *op. cit.*, p. 62, Fig. 86.

[3] The bones found throughout the various strata were submitted to Mr. I. Aharoni. He makes out "nearly with certainty the following five mammals: (*a*) Capra primigenia Fraas; (*b*) Capra beden sinaitica Schreber; (*c*) a bovine, probably a buffalo; (*d*) a solipede, smaller than a horse; (*e*) a camel." The types represented being normal, their exact distribution does not seem to call for detailed description.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

PLATE I.—*Vase types of Middle and Late Bronze Age.*

1. Bowl. Radius 9·5 cm. Rough reddish-buff clay. Provenance, Askalon, η 4.
2. Lamp. Length 15·5 cm. Rough reddish-buff clay. Provenance, Askalon, ϵ 0.
3. Bowl. Radius 11 cm. Rough reddish-buff clay. Provenance, Askalon, η 4.
4. Juglet with ovoid mouth. Height 15 cm. Rough reddish clay. Provenance, Askalon, ζ 1.
5. Bowl. Radius 9 cm. Reddish-buff clay. Palestine Museum, B 54.
6. "Base-ring" Flagon. Height 29 cm. Provenance, Beth-shan. (Askalon distribution, see Fig. V.)
7. Alabaster Pyxis. Radius 5 cm. Provenance, East Grotto, Ain Shems. (Askalon fragments in ζ 4.)
8. Juglet. Whitish clay smoothed with a knife. Height 14·5 cm. Palestine Museum, V. 228. (Numerous Askalon fragments in ζ.)
9. "Wish-bone" handle white-slip Bowl. Radius 7 cm. Provenance, Cyprus. (Askalon, see Fig. V.)
10. Spout of "Base-ring" Vase in shape of animal's head. Provenance, Askalon, η 4.
11. "Base-ring" Bilbil. Height 14 cm. Provenance, Askalon, ϵ 2. (See also Fig. V.)
12. "Base-ring" Funnel or "cyma"-shaped Bowl. Radius 7 cm. (Askalon, see Fig. V.)
13. Smooth bright-red Flagon. Height 29 cm. Palestine Museum, V. 316. (Askalon fragment, ζ 4.)
14. Bowl with burnished red cross in interior. Radius 12·5 cm. Buff clay. Provenance, Ain Shems, High Place Grotto. (Askalon fragments in η and ζ.)
15. Early type of pinched Lamp. Length 13 cm. Palestine Museum, L. 81. (Askalon fragments in θ.)
16. Bases of two black "punctured" Vases. Provenance, Askalon, η 0 and η 2.
17. "Divided handle" Bottle. Buff clay. Height 11·5 cm. Palestine Museum, V. 650. (Askalon fragments in θ.)
18. Bases of two black "punctured" Vases. Provenance, Askalon, η 0 and η 2.
19. Bowl with red burnished upper shoulder. Radius 7·5 cm. Palestine Museum, B. 62. (Askalon fragments common in ζ, η and θ.)
20. Jug. Buff clay. Height 26·5 cm. Palestine Museum, V. 691. (Askalon fragments in ζ.)

PLATE II.—*Vase type of Early Iron Age.*

1. Red pebble-burnished Bowl. Radius 10 cm. Provenance, Ain Shems, Tomb I. (Askalon distribution, see Fig. 5.)
2. Red "pebble-burnished" fragment of bowl rim with projecting shelf handle pierced with two small vertical holes in the central and thickest part. Provenance, Askalon, δ o.
3. Red pebble-burnished Bowl. Radius 5·5 cm. Provenance, Ain Shems, Tomb I. (Askalon, see Fig. 5.)
4. Fragment of Skyphos (no handles preserved). Height 12·3 cm. *Exterior*—fairly smooth buff surface. The top band of decoration is in black on which are laid three thinner bands of red. The rays are black. *Interior*—black, carelessly but thoroughly applied. The clay is well levigated but not entirely compact, Provenance, Askalon. Found outside Coastal Station at level, γ.
5. Red pebble-burnished Dish. Radius 9 cm. Provenance, Askalon, γ 3.
6. Fragment of large Amphora. Red clay with black bands round rim and shoulder. Provenance, Askalon, γ 5.
7. Bowl with horizontal loop handles. Radius 6·5 cm. (Restored.) Red clay with bands of brighter red paint. Provenance, Askalon, 1920. Northern Scarp. (Askalon, 1921, see Fig. 5.)
8. Pilgrim Bottle. Buff clay. Radius 13·7 cm. Provenance, Askalon, 1920. Northern Scarp. (Askalon, 1922, common from, and including, δ upwards.)
9. Terracotta Astarte Head. Provenance, Askalon, γ 3.
10. Crater with horizontal loop handles. Radius 12·5 cm. Clay reddish. Decoration in black and red. Provenance, Askalon, δ 8. (See also Fig. 5.)
11. Spout in the shape of a bull's head. Clay red, covered with white wash on which is painted a decoration in dark red. Provenance, Askalon, γ 6.
12. Bowl with horizontal loop handles. Radius 5·5 cm. (Restored.) Reddish clay covered on the exterior with a greenish-white wash. Decoration in black and red both outside and inside (in the latter case, concentric circles and a spiral of black at the bottom). Provenance, Askalon, 1920. Northern Scarp. (See also Fig. 5.)
13. Cypriotic Bottle. Height 8·5 cm. Lustrous red surface with black decoration. Palestine Museum, V. 367. (Askalon fragments, δ 8.)
14. Bottle. Height 12·6 cm. Clay reddish-buff. Decoration in black and red. Provenance, Askalon, δ 7.
15. Strainer-spout Vase. Height 16 cm. Palestine Museum, V. 506. (Askalon fragment, δ 7.)

16. Pinched Lamps of late type. Length 12 cm. Provenance, Askalon, γ 5, δ 4.
17. Spouted Vase. Height 17·5 cm. Reddish clay and red decorations. Palestine Museum, V. 488. (Askalon fragments, δ 4, 5, γ 6.)
18. Juglet with rounded base and round mouth. Height 13·7 cm. Red clay. Provenance, Askalon, δ 4.
19. Bowl. Radius 13·5 cm. Reddish-buff clay with red bands. Palestine Museum, B. 115. (Askalon, see Fig. 5.)
20. Narrow-necked Bottle with one vertical loop handle (missing). Height 11 cm. Greenish-white clay. Provenance, Askalon, γ 0.
21. Late type Juglet. Height 9·6 cm. Red clay. Provenance, Askalon (numerous similar specimens in γ and β).
22. Pinched Lamps of late type. Length 12 cm. Provenance, Askalon, γ 5, δ 4.
23. Stirrup Vase (one-half the stirrup handle missing). Height 19 cm. Buff clay with decoration in black. Provenance, Palestine Museum, V. 500. (Askalon, γ 7.)

PLATE III.—*Fragments of Middle and Late Bronze Age.*

Note.—Numbers in square brackets refer to pen-and-ink sketches.

1. Smooth, well levigated yellow clay. Lustrous brown paint. (δ 1.) [No. 21.]
2. As No. 1. (ϵ 3.) [No. 19.]
3. As No. 1. (ϵ 4.)
4. Rather coarse buff clay. Semi-lustrous exterior surface and orange-red decoration. (ϵ 1.)
5. As No. 1. Paint, orange red. (ϵ 3.)
6. As No. 1. (ϵ 1.)
7. As No. 1. Orange-red circles outlined with thin black bands. (ϵ 2.) [No. 22.]
8. As No. 1. Paint, black to brown. (ϵ 1.) [No. 20.]
9. As No. 1. The interior face is shown, the "hooks" in red outlined with black, the bands in brown; the exterior face has black-brown bands. (ϵ 1.)
10. As No. 1. Paint, reddish-brown. (ϵ 6.)
11. Clay somewhat lighter than the above. Paint, brown. (η 4.)
12. Clay as in No. 1. Paint, orange red. (ζ 3.)
13. As No. 12. (ϵ 6.)
14. Coarse reddish clay covered with white slip. Dark red (Burnt Sienna) paint. (ϵ 4.)
15. As No. 1. (Chalice, pedestal-base.) Paint, orange red. (ϵ 5.)
16. Reddish clay. Paint as in No. 14. (ϵ 6.) The painted surface is smooth.
17. As No. 16. (ϵ 5.) [No. 17.]

18. Coarse reddish clay. Black at core. Paint, Burnt Sienna and washy black. (ϵ 1.) [No. 18.]
19. Coarse chocolate clay. Incised decoration. (ξ 0.)
20. Brown clay. Slightly polished outer surface. Incised decoration. (ϵ 3.) [No. 8.]
21. Very coarse black clay. (1·3 cm. thick.) Incised decoration. (ϵ 0.)
22. Yellow clay with black slip and red brush-strokes. (ξ 5.)
23. Reddish-buff clay covered with white wash. Red vertical lines and black zigzags. Black animal on left, red on right. (η 4.) [No. 9.]
24. Greenish clay. Paint, brown. (θ 0·1.)
25. Light buff clay. Paint, black with one red line. (ξ/η 0.) [No. 11.]
26. Buff clay. Black and red paint. (η 5.) [No. 14.]
27. Buff clay. Paint, red and black. (ξ 6.) [No. 12.]
28. Fine light yellow clay. Orange-red paint very thickly applied. (η 2.) [No. 15.]
29. Red clay covered with white. One thick blue and two thinner red bands. (η 1.)
30. As No. 29. (η 0·1.)
31. Reddish clay. Paint, black and red; bird in black. (ξ 0.) [No. 13.]
32. Reddish-yellow clay. Semi-lustrous orange-red paint. (η 3.) [No. 16.]
33. Brown clay with highly polished outer face. Thin well-drawn incised lines. (ξ 0.)
34. Brown clay covered with highly polished red slip. The design shows an ibex(?) head below a palm(?) branch. (ξ 0.) [No. 6.]
35. Reddish-brown clay with polished outer surface. This appears to be a fragment of a small painted juglet. Decoration, incised lines and points. (ξ 0.) [No. 5.]
36. Black "punctured" ware. Very marked wheel-grooves. (ξ 0.) [No. 3.]
37. As No. 14. Very distinct wheel-grooves. (η 4.) [No. 10.]
38. Light buff clay. Hand-made. Incisions on a raised band. (ξ/η 0.) [No. 1.]
39. Clay as in No. 34. There are two fractures at the base of the "column" and behind the centre of the "capital." Either might have been the point of attachment. (ξ/η 0.)
40. Coarse brown clay. Incisions on a raised band. The fragment is practically flat. ($\tilde{\eta}$ 6.)

PLATE IV. *Fragments of Early Iron Age.*

Note.—Numbers in square brackets refer to pen-and-ink sketches.

1. Base of a Bowl in red clay, the outer surface covered with a yellow slip. Decoration in brownish-red paint. (δ 4.)
2. Yellow clay covered on the interior and partially on the exterior with black varnish. On the exterior an eagle resembling the old Prussian eagle is painted in the varnish on the buff surface. There are incised marks on the right-hand side. Very rough work. (Found in γ level just outside the Coastal Section.) [No. 36.]
3. Yellow clay. Bands in brown paint. Spiral painted in cream over the brown. (δ 4.) [No. 34.]
4. Brown-black varnish on red clay. White bands with red band between them. (β 5.)
5. Very thin ware. (·15 cm. thick.) Black varnish. White and red bands as No. 4. (β level.)
6. Similar to No. 5 but much thicker. (·5 cm.) Varnish black-brown, cracking in many places. White and red washy and indistinct. The interior is not varnished. (γ 3.)
7. Black varnished handle. Red clay. (β level.)
8. Very fine red clay. Brownish-black varnish, whcih extends over the interior except for a thin band along the top of the rim where the surface red is left uncovered. (β 5.)
9. Black varnish on yellow clay. Patterns incised. (β 5.)
10. Light yellow clay. Lustrous brown paint. (A Mycenean survival ?) (δ 1.)
11. Reddish clay turning to yellow on exterior. Polished outer face with orange-red paint (possibly both this and No. 10 belong to the stratum below). (δ 4.) [No. 33.]
12. Rough buff clay. Red paint. (δ 0.)
13. Red clay. Red varnish smeared with brown. Unfinished work ? (γ 0.)
14. Reddish clay covered on the outside with a light slip. Black-brown paint. (δ 4.)
15. Red clay with moulded swan's neck (the head and beak at the bottom turned to the left). The black varnish has almost entirely fallen off. (β 2.)
16. Brown clay with exterior slip of smooth yellow. The main band of decoration is in an unusual shade of deep red ; the thin bands are black. (γ 7.)
17. Red, not very compact clay containing many very small crystals. The exterior is decorated with three brown bands (·5 cm. thick and 2 cm. apart). The interior is covered with a yellow slip, the decoration being mainly in brown with thin purple bands at intervals above and below the main design. (γ 5.) [No. 35.]

18. Red clay with black varnish and incised draperies; the foot is white. Below the figure the bands tend to become green and have very thin purple lines between them. (β level just outside the Coastal Section.)
19. Red clay covered on outside with white wash. Dark red paint. Radius 2 cm. (Field 60.)
20. Red clay with white wash on both sides. Paint in red and black. (γ 7.) [No. 31.]
21. As No. 20, but white only on the exterior. (γ 6.)
22. Greenish clay. Black paint. Radius 9 cm. (δ 5.)
23. Buff clay, burning to red in places on the outside. Paint, red and black. (δ 1.) [No. 28.]
24. Buff clay. Design on bird's body and wing in brown. Radius 12. Perhaps a fragment of a "stirrup" Vase. (δ 1.)
25. Reddish clay. Design of fish in black. (γ 7.) [No. 32.]
26. Reddish clay. Red vertical lines and black zigzags. Radius 16 cm. (δ 6.) [No. 23.]
27. Buff clay. Outside covered with creamy wash. Design in dark red (Burnt Sienna). Radius 14 cm. (δ 1.) [No. 24.]
28. As No. 27. Radius 11 cm. (δ 5.) [No. 26.]
29. As No. 27. Radius 11 cm. (δ 6.) [No. 25.]
30. As No. 27. Paint washy. (δ 7.)
31. As No. 27. (δ 6.)
32. As No. 27. (δ 1.)
33. Fine buff clay, covered on outside with smooth creamy slip. Design of dolphin (?), etc., in brown paint. (δ 2.)

PORTABLE SUNDIAL FROM GEZER.[1]

By E. J. Pilcher.

Let others prate of storms and showers,
I only mark the *sunny* hours.

Among the minor antiquities discovered by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister at Gezer was a piece of carved ivory, the importance of which has been pointed out by the late Dr. Georg Möller, of Leipzig. As will be seen from Figs. 1, 2 and 3, the object is quite small, being only $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and about a half-inch thick. Both faces bear designs, engraved in incised lines, which have been emphasized by a filling of green enamel paint, traces of which remain. The back portion

Fig. 1.—Front of ivory sundial.

of the ivory is semi-circular, with a series of radiating strokes upon it. In front is a scene representing the solar bark, upon which an Egyptian king is kneeling, and making an offering to Ra-Harmachis sitting enthroned before him. The monarch is denoted by his cartouches on either side, giving the name of Mer-en-Ptah of the XIXth Dynasty (1225-1215 B.C.). The upper register originally exhibited a row of stars; but, owing to a fracture, only the bottom portions of these stars are now visible.

Prof. Macalister described this object as a "pectoral"; Dr. Möller has recognised it as a portable sundial.

[1] Thanks are due to Mr. John Murray for permission to reproduce the illustrations of the ivory sundial from Gezer, and to the Oxford University Press for permission to reproduce the illustration of the wooden sundial from Meroë.

The ancients had two methods of measuring time: one by the gnomon (γνώμων), the other by the sundial (πόλος). The gnomon consisted of a staff, or pillar, standing in some open space exposed to the rays of the sun in such a way that the *length* of the shadow might easily be ascertained. At sunrise the shadow would be at its longest; at midday at its shortest, and it would then lengthen again until sunset. The intermediate hours could thus be measured with facility. The Polos, or sundial, was not concerned with the length of the shadow, but only its *direction*, that is to say, the angle at which the pointer marked itself upon the dial.

Homer makes no mention of any instruments for measuring time; but they were familiar to Herodotus (II, 109), who says "the sundial and the gnomon, and the twelve divisions of the day, came to Hellas, not from Egypt, but from Babylonia." This is

FIG. 2.—Side of sundial.

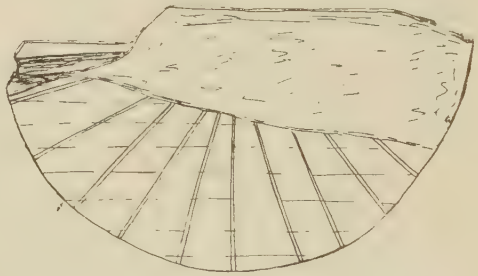


FIG. 3.—Back of sundial.

probably correct; but as Egypt was in constant communication with Babylonia, the Egyptians must have become acquainted with these inventions at an early date.

Dr. Ludwig Borchardt has described two Egyptian gnomons which are now in the Berlin Museum. They are of greenish slate, and bear the name of Thothmes III (1501–1447 B.C.), in addition to hieroglyphics explaining their use in marking the varying length of the solar shadow in the course of the day. Although there is thus no doubt that the ancient Egyptians made use of the gnomon, it has hitherto been supposed that they were not acquainted with the sundial until Ptolemaic times. Dr. von Bissing described what he took to be a sundial on the tomb of Kagemni at Sakkarah; but Dr. Borchardt has shown that this is merely the graffito of a ship, with its tackle, and bank of oars. A few undoubted dials have been noticed. They are of small size, and were evidently intended

to be carried about. In 1911 the Berlin Museum acquired a specimen in green-glazed pottery of Graeco-Roman fabric. Mr. Robert Mond discovered another in the course of his excavations at Thebes, and a third is reported from the ruins of Kerdasse. A very pretty little example in hard wood was found by Dr. J. Garstang in the Lion Temple at Meroë, dating from the beginning of the Christian era. It is shown in Fig. 4. The upper part has the form of an Egyptian gateway, and the lower portion is marked off as a

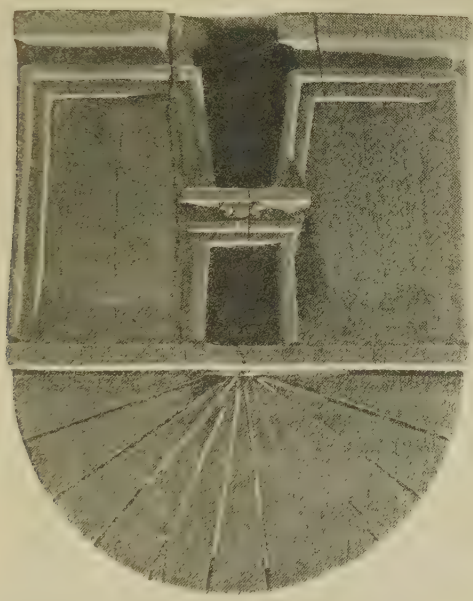


Fig. 4.—Portable sundial found by Prof. Garstang at Meroë.

sundial. It is now in the collection of Mr. James Smith. All these examples are clearly of the Ptolemaic period, and later; whereas Prof. Macalister's discovery at Gezer takes us at a bound to the XIXth Dynasty. This was found in the south of Palestine, which would imply that the Egyptian traveller took such an instrument with him when he visited foreign countries. The difficulty which occurs to us is to know how such dials were orientated. In

modern examples there is usually a compass. The ancients can only have ascertained the direction of the north by an observation of the pole-star, and then settled on some geographical features which would enable them to place their portable sundials in the proper direction during the daylight hours.

Knowing that many of the articles from Gezer had remained at Jerusalem, the writer enquired of Mr. W. J. Phythian-Adams, who has been good enough to reply in a personal communication. Unfortunately, the sundial can no longer be traced. The collections were treated by the Turkish authorities with such extreme carelessness that many things were lost, stolen, or destroyed, so that for the present all our information is derived from Prof. Macalister's publication. Herr Möller, as an Egyptologist, was careful to point out that the deity shown upon the dial was Ra, the Sun-god (as was appropriate upon an astronomical instrument), and not Thoth, as supposed by Prof. Macalister. Sir E. A. W. Budge tells us that Ra-Harmachis "was one of the chief forms of the Sun-god Ra, and, speaking generally, represented the sun in his daily course across the skies, from the time he left the Mount of Sunrise (Bakhau) to the time when he entered the Mount of Sunset (Manu)." Dr. Moller was also puzzled by the mention of a green colouring matter in the lines of the engraving. He objected, quite correctly, that it would be impossible to fuse glass enamel on to ivory; and it is to be regretted that we cannot at present recover the object and ascertain more particularly the kind of paint, or enamelling, which was employed. Those, however, are minor details; the importance of the discovery at Gezer is that it takes the history of the sundial in Egypt back to such an early period.

The "sundial of Ahaz" (Isaiah xxxviii, 5) has been sufficiently treated in the commentaries, and need not be discussed here; but this article from Gezer will serve to convince us that there is no reason why Ahaz should not have had a similar dial for marking the passage of the hours, for evidently such things had been employed in Palestine centuries before.

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"Eine Sonnenuhr aus der Zeit Menephtahs," von G. Möller. *Ibid.*, 1920, Vol. LVI, p. 101.

(*Note.*—It may be of interest to recall that Dr. Möller, the scholar to whom we owe this new piece of information, died on the 2nd October, 1921, not having quite completed his forty-fifth year. He was best known as an authority on the hieratic script, and his "Hieratische Paläographie" is a marvellous collection of classified material for all periods of this style of writing.)

AN INTERESTING DISCOVERY IN NAZARETH.

By Asad Mansur.

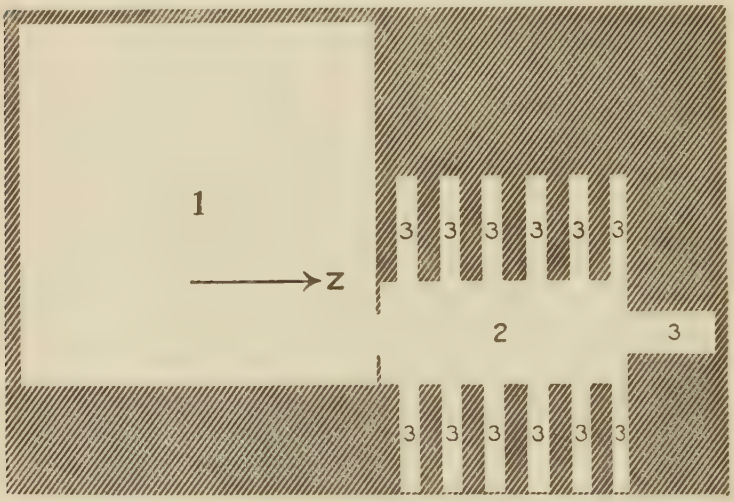
Written history tells us nothing about Nazareth before the Annunciation of Christ about five years before the current Christian era. The last mention of Nazareth in the New Testament was about A.D. 40 (Acts x, 38).

For about three hundred years after that scarcely anything was known about Nazareth, but after the conversion of Constantine it appeared again with some importance.

The small mention of Nazareth in history most likely led most writers to describe it as a *village*, "a small village," and such like descriptions, in spite of the statement of the Gospel that it was a *town*, which can be easily proved. Yet even some people doubted the existence of an inhabited place in the present locality of Nazareth in the time of our Lord, because no ancient tombs dating back to the time of our Lord had been discovered. In the year 1907 Professor Knight, of St. Andrew's, told me that a friend of his believed this theory, and asked me whether I could find ancient tombs in Nazareth. I wrote to the effect that there are many, and they are of three kinds: (1) the Kôkim kind (the most ancient of all); (2) Sarcophagi in caves; (3) Tombs cut in the face of the rock. The present discovery confirms the truth that Nazareth not

only existed in our Lord's time, but that it was also a pre-Hebrew town, as buried rock history is a much more honest custodian than written history.

At about 30 metres south of the Church of the Annunciation of Terra Santa a cave has been discovered. A man was digging in his property to make a cistern, and, after excavating about the depth of a metre, came upon a square building measuring about 8 metres on each side. Various kinds of debris of different periods were dug out of the next 4 metres. Then virgin ground appeared, and in this, which is about a metre in depth, a clay lamp was discovered lying in the middle of the square. Another lamp was found on the north-east side.



The Father Superior of the Convent of Terra Santa, seeing the excavations, suspected that something must be there, and his surmise proved to be correct.

A door of a cave blocked with a rolling stone was soon discovered—blocked with a rolling stone which could not be removed. The stone had to be broken, and a cave about 6 metres long was brought to light containing thirteen graves, six on each side and one in front opposite the door, all the graves being of the Kōkim kind. The second grave to the left contained three skeletons, and two other graves, the last one to the right and the one in the front (which is also the largest grave of all), contained two skeletons each

In each of the other graves only one skeleton was found. The skeletons were in their natural state, but unfortunately some of the skulls were handled and as soon as touched crumbled to dust. The rest were left undisturbed. Clay lamps were found and three pieces of glass—one a small jug and two Collyrium boxes. Two flint instruments were found by one of the natives, which he described as a kind of axe, and a smaller instrument, but these he unfortunately threw away in the debris. It is still hoped that they may be found again. All the other findings are kept by the Father Superior of the Franciscan Convent of Terra Santa. It is most likely that the cave dates back to the flint period. The aforementioned square is of rough masonry, and it seems clear that those who built it knew nothing of the cave.

Christ Church, C.M.S., Nazareth.

29*th January*, 1923.

GOSHEN IN PALESTINE.

By Dr. Samuel Daiches.

Goshen is known as the province in Egypt in which Joseph settled his father and his brethren after they had come to live in Egypt (Genesis xlv, 10, and *passim*). But there is also a Goshen in Palestine. The Palestinian Goshen is mentioned in Joshua x, 41, and xi, 16 (*cf.* also Joshua xv, 51). Let us look at Joshua xi, 16, which is the more important of the two verses. In English translation the verse reads as follows: —"And Joshua took all that land, the mountain (-land), and all the south, and all the land of Goshen, and the lowland, and the Arabah, and the mountain (-land) of Israel, and its lowland." The commentators do not know what "the land of Goshen" signifies in this verse (or in x, 41). Ḳimḥi says: "This is not the Goshen of Egypt." In the Century Bible

Commentary on Joshua the note on x, 41 reads: "not, of course, that of Egypt (Genesis xlvi, 28); the reference is obscure, since no place or district of this name is known in the south of Palestine. The town of this name in the hill-country of Judah (xv, 51) cannot be intended." George Adam Smith, in *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (14th edition), p. 652, in quoting Joshua xi, 16, says with regard to "all the land of Goshen": "an unknown quantity extending from Gibeon (Joshua x, 41; *cf.* xv, 51) southwards across Judah, and out upon the Negeb, and to be distinguished from that land of Goshen where Israel was settled in Egypt."

I suggest that "Goshen" signifies here "low hills," "table-land," as distinguished from "mountain," "mountain-land." *ha-Har* (הָהָר) stands for "the mountain," "the mountain-land (of Judea)." *ha-Shĕphēla'h* (הַשְּׁפֵלָה) stands for "the lowland," "the valley-land," "the plain."[1] There remains the country of the low hills lying between the mountain-land and the valley-land, the table-land, to be accounted for. And that portion of the country is called אֶרֶץ הַגֹּשֶׁן (or אֶרֶץ גֹּשֶׁן in Joshua x, 41), *i.e.*, "the land of the low hills," "the land of the plateau," "the table-land." A look at the map of Palestine will make clear the meaning of "table-land." That "Shephelah" does not mean the "low hills" (see Smith, *l.c.*, pp. 49–50, and pp. 201 *sqq.*) is also shown by the last words of the verse: "and the mountain-land of Israel and its Shephelah." The "mountain-land of Israel" does not have its continuation in table-land, but descends on the plain (see Smith, *l.c.*, p. 49). "Shephelah" is the plain, the whole valley-land. But between the mountain-land of Judea and the plain there is the range of low hills, the table-land, the land of "Goshen." In this verse Western Palestine is described by its physical features: (1) The mountain (-land) of Judea; (2) the *Negeb* (the region south of Judea); (3) The land of *Goshen*, *i.e.*, the table-land; (4) the lowland (the valley-land, the plain); (5) the *Arabah* (the Jordan Valley); (6) the mountain (-land) of Israel; and (7) its lowland (the valley-land, the plain).

Very often the Bible speaks of highland and lowland without referring particularly to the table-land lying between the two

[1] *Cf.* the view of Budde as to the identity of הַשְּׁפֵלָה and הָעֵמֶק. (See Smith, *l.c.*, p. 651.)

regions; *cf.* Deuteronomy i, 7; Joshua ix, 1; xii, 8; Judges i, 9; also 19. חוֹף הַיָּם (Deuteronomy i, 7; Joshua ix, 1) seems to refer only to the narrow strip of the sea-coast, the sea-board; *cf.*, Jeremiah xlvii, 7 (אֶל־אַשְׁקְלוֹן וְאֶל־חוֹף הַיָּם). "Shephelah" is the designation for the whole of the lowland. "Sea-coast" and "valley" (חוף הים, and עמק) are sometimes mentioned as particular parts, or sub-divisions, of the lowland; *cf.*, Jeremiah xlvii, 5 (אַשְׁקְלוֹן שְׁאֵרִית עֶמְקָם). and 7.[1] In Joshua x, 41, "all the land of Goshen" has the same meaning as in xi, 16. In xv, 15, *Goshen* is the name of a town.

I do not venture to suggest an etymological explanation for גֹּשֶׁן = "table-land," although one might be inclined to think of גֹּרֶשׁ "a clod," "a crust" of earth, and of Arabic جَسّ and جَسوء "rough ground" (see the *Oxford Gesenius*, p. 159, and Freytag, *Arabic Lexicon*, Vol. I, p. 277), also أرض جاسئة, "hard, or hard and level, and rough ground" (*see* Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, I, p. 243). "Rough, hard and level ground" may describe the nature of the table-land as compared with the rocky mountains on the one hand and the sandy soil of the plain on the other hand.

The following fact, however, seems to me to be of great interest: the land of Goshen in Egypt is a region which follows (from south to north) immediately upon mountain-land. Of all Egypt the land of Goshen is nearest to mountain-land and forms the transition to the lowland of Egypt (see Smith and Bartholomew, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 1915, Maps 7–8). It may be that the sons of Israel called that part of Egypt "Goshen" because, as "Goshen" in Palestine, that district in Egypt was land following on mountain-land and leading to valley-land. And so the "Goshen" of Egypt may have its origin in the "Goshen" in Palestine.

[1] It is to such distinctions that the statement in the Mishnah, *Shebiith*, IX, 2 seems to refer (see Smith, *l.c.*, p. 202, note 5). עמק refers there particularly to the sea-board (*cf.* the note from the *Jerushalmi* quoted by Smith, *l.c.*).

SIGNET OF HANANIAH.

By E. J. Pilcher.

Mr. S. Raffaeli reports the discovery of a new Hebrew signet which is of special interest to the Palestine Exploration Fund because it appears to be closely related to the seal of Ishmael (son of) Neriah, found by Dr. F. J. Bliss on Ophel in 1897 (*Q.S.* 1897, pp. 186, 310; "Excavations at Jerusalem" (London 1898), p. 271).

The new signet is of the customary shape—an oval scaraboid. The material is a white pebble, about five-eighths of an inch long. It is bored from end to end with a hole for suspension. The face is slightly convex, and bears the lettering:—

le-Ḥanan-Yahu	לחניהו
Neri-Yahu	נריהו

i.e., "(The signet) of Hananiah (son of) Neriah."

The two words are separated by a couple of lines, the extremities of which are expanded into a floral ornament—a somewhat unusual feature. The surface is flaked in two places; but these injuries do not interfere with the legibility of the inscription.

The new signet was found at Solomon's Pools, a few miles from Jerusalem; and it presents great resemblance to the seal of Ishmael, disinterred by Dr. Bliss on Ophel. The style of lettering is identical; and it follows the same fashion of omitting the word *ben*, "son." The great majority of these old Hebrew gems express the filiation in full, as in the case of the well-known חגי בן שבניה "Haggai, son of Shebaniah,"[1] and it might be assumed that those examples which omit the *ben* would be later in date than the others. There is, however, a further consideration. Most of these ancient Hebrew signets consist, like the present one, of a couple of lines of writing separated by a band; and this plainness of design is often thought to be due to a growing desire to avoid idolatrous emblems. It might therefore be expected that the more ornate specimens, which have figures upon them in addition to the inscription, would be of an earlier period; for we might suppose that the older generation was less affected by puritanical ideas; and that a later revulsion against objects suspected of heathenism

[1] *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, by Sir Charles Warren (London, 1871), p. 493.

would lead to a fashion of wearing plain signets. Nevertheless, the objects themselves do not lend support to any such view. The epigraphy of the gems with designs upon them does not present any greater archaism in the alphabetic characters than those without such decoration; and as far as the omission of the word *ben* is concerned, we have, for example, the seal "of Zacher (son of) Hoshea" which bears an unmistakably Egyptian winged sphinx in addition to the inscription.[1] Thus, either the omission of the word *ben* is no indication of date, or else these Jewish seals were cut indifferently with and without emblems down to the latest period.

We have no certain clue to the dates of these signets. They are probably Post-Exilic. The names upon them are of a late character; and the epigraphy points in the same direction.[2]

In the present instance the owner bears the biblical name of Hananiah; and it is within the bounds of probability that he was the brother of the Ishmael of the Ophel signet, who was likewise a son of Neriah (*Q.S.* 1897, p. 310). At any rate the two seals are so much alike in style and workmanship and epigraphy, that they must have come from the hand of the same gem engraver.

The name of Hananiah is already familiar upon these old Hebrew relics. Two specimens are figured by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1883. Fig. 1 has *le-Ḥanan-Yahu ben 'Akbor*; fig. 2 *le-Ḥanan-Yahu ben 'Azar-Yahu*. The first is remarkable because it presents one of the rare class of names derived from animals; *'Akbor* being the ordinary word for a "mouse." The second has an unusual feature; the inscription being surrounded by a border of lily flowers, of the same type as the triple Madonna Lily on the well-known silver shekels. Both these gems were acquired by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau in Jerusalem.

The late Dr. G. Buchanan Gray assigned the proper name Hananiah to the Post-Exilic Period "though it may have been coined previously."[3] We may recall that it was a favourite name at the beginning of the Christian Era; the Hananiahs having then been especially numerous. The inverted form *Yeho-ḥanan*, or John, was equally common. *Ḥanan-Yahu* means "Gracious

[1] *A Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, by G. A. Cooke (Oxford, 1903), p. 362, Pl. XI., fig. 7.

[2] "*The Old Hebrew Alphabet and the Gezer Tablet*" by Stanley A. Cook; *Q.S.* 1908, p. 284.

[3] *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (London, 1896), p. 268.

is Yahu," though Dr. H. A. White would make it an acknowledgment of past favours by translating "Yahweh has been gracious."[1]

Allied formations are Elhanan and Hananeel; while similar religious conceptions are expressed in the well-known Carthaginian names, Hanno and Hannibal.

Although Hananiah is a very common name, Neriah, on the contrary, is a very rare one; and is only known from the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, where seven times it is spelt נריה *Neri-Yah*; and three times נריהו *Neri-Yahu*, as upon our seal. *Neri-Yahu* may be interpreted as "My lamp is Yahu." In most of the Hebrew theophoric names, the formative element is a verb. On the other hand, in this case it is an undisputable noun; for *Ner* is the ordinary word for a "lamp." The lamp of biblical times was merely a small bowl of earthenware, with a spout or lip-pinched with the fingers when the bowl was made; the wick being laid in this spout, and the bowl filled with oil, usually olive oil; that being most easily accessible. It burned with a feeble smoky flame, and gave very little light; but it was the only form of artificial illumination known at that time; and, consequently, invested with a far greater importance than we should attach to it in these days of electric light and incandescent gas. Thus the lamp is a frequent metaphor in the O.T. In Prov. xx, 27, it is said that "the spirit of man is the Lamp of Yahweh" נר יהוה. In 2 Sam. xxi, 17, the soldiers of David would not allow him to expose himself in battle, lest "the lamp of Israel" should be extinguished. Another name compounded with *Ner* is Abner, or Abiner, the grandfather of Saul, 1 Sam. xiv, 50, אבינר *Abi-ner*. Dr. Gray (p. 78) argues that, in these Hebrew proper names, the word *Ab* = "father" cannot refer to the bearer of the name, or his human progenitor, because we have such converse forms as Eliab and Abiel ("My God is Father" and "My Father is God"). Thus the *Ab* would be the Divine parent; and Abiner would mean "My (Divine) Father is a lamp" or "My Father is (as) a lamp." We may even suppose that a more ancient form was *Abi-neri* = "My Father is my lamp." In any case, the meaning of Abiner is cognate to that of Neriah.

A synonymous name is to be found in Urijah (Jer. xxvi, 20) אוריהו, *Uri-Yahu* = "My flame is Yahu" (compare Uri, Exod. xxxi, 2, and Uriel, 1 Chron. vi, 9).

[1] Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II, p. 293.

We can also illustrate the same idea from Palmyra, where there are the proper names עתנירי *'Athe-nuri* = "The goddess Athai is my lamp"; and נורבל *Nuri-Bel* = "My lamp is Bel."[1]

The mention of the Palmyrene Inscriptions will remind us that we have no early Hebrew signets in the Square Character. The oldest Hebrew writing was allied to the Phœnician, and is continued in the Samaritan. At some indeterminate period this Old Hebrew script was abandoned in favour of an Aramaic style of writing similar to the Palmyrene, and we call this the Square Alphabet. The ancient Jewish signets are inscribed in the Old Hebrew or Phœnician. There are none in the later character; and we are left in ignorance as to the causes why these Old Hebrew seals went out of fashion, and what succeeded them. Dr. Albert Wolf, of Dresden, tells us: "In Talmudic times . . . . the signets of the period bore various emblems; that of Abba Arika representing a fish, Hanina's a branch of a date palm, Rabbah b. Huna's a mast of a ship, and Judah b. Ezekiel's a human head. The meaning of these emblems is unknown; and the attempted explanations of the medieval Talmudists are entirely inadequate."[2]

This would lead us to suppose that at the beginning of the Christian Era, Jewish seals were anepigraphic; that is to say, they followed the fashion of the contemporary Greek and Roman signets in having a distinctive design cut upon them; and no indication of the name of the owner. It was not until after the fall of the Roman Empire that Jewish seals again appear with inscriptions; and they were then, of course, in the "Square" character, as known from medieval manuscripts. A fair number of engraved Greco-Roman gems have been found in Palestine from time to time; but they have attracted little attention. The work is usually poor; and there is nothing to distinguish them from similar objects of classical antiquity; though it is not at all unlikely that at least some of them were owned, and used, by Jewish individuals in Talmudic times.

[1] Cooke's *Textbook*, pp. 302, 307; *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*, by Stanley A. Cook (Cambridge, 1898), pp. 81, 95.

[2] *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1905), vol. XI., p. 136.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs. By Jacob Mann, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.). Oxford University Press, Vol. I, 1920; Vol. II, 1922. 31*s.* 6*d.* net.

This notable work is, as the sub-title states, a contribution to the political and communal history of the Jews in Egypt and Palestine, and is based chiefly on Genizah material, hitherto unpublished. It is a piece of research which reflects great credit upon the industry of the author, and special thanks are also due to those who have enabled it to be published—in particular to the Oxford Press for the result.

Dr. Mann's aim is to produce a skeleton of the contemporary history in chronological order from 969 A.D. to about 1204 A.D. For this he has drawn upon four extensive collections of Genizah fragments, the most fruitful being the famous Taylor-Schechter Collection at the Cambridge University Library. A large number of unpublished fragments form the basis, and Vol. II comprises the material in question. These in themselves are of considerable value as illustrating the Hebrew language of the period, and for this alone Dr. Mann's collection is an important contribution to Jewish studies. For other than Hebrew students the first volume is of the greater interest, and one must agree with the author in expressing our wonder at the remarkable store of literary compositions which had been regarded as useless, but out of a piety, which would perhaps have no counterpart to-day, were bundled into the lumber-room of synagogues. Well may he cite the Psalmist: "The stone which the builders rejected has become the chief corner-stone," for few could have imagined that from the Jewish *olla podrida* it would be possible to throw so much light upon the external history and internal conditions as Dr. Mann has succeeded in doing.

The author, thanks to a full index, has facilitated the labours of those who wish to use the volumes seriously, and not, as some readers may prefer, dip here and there into the varied collection of miscellaneous details. It is noteworthy how often Palestine

and Syria come up for mention, and in the fourth chapter, in particular, there is a most instructive survey of conditions in the lands in question to which special attention may be drawn. The fact that some light is incidentally thrown upon the Crusades may also be noted. Where much has been marked by us for quotation it is possible to refer only to a few points. Thus we find that the Palestinian Academy had the prerogative of fixing the calendar for each year; the communal organization of the Jews can now be studied more systematically than before; a scroll of the law could be consulted for augury (p. 244); Askalonite supporters of Egyptian authority could contend that Askalon was outside Palestine (p. 191), and so forth.

The foregoing may suffice to give some idea of the wide range of Dr. Mann's volumes and their many features of value. For the history of Egypt and of Palestine, of the Hebrew language, and of the Jews in general, they are a contribution of the first importance.

Biblica. October, 1922.

Among other items of interest is a note by E. Burrows, S.J., on the Hebrew inscription at 'Alma, in Galilee (*Survey of West. Palest., Mem.*, i, 220). It was discussed by Renan (*Journal Asiat.*, 1876, ii, pp. 273–5). Unfortunately Mr. Burrows lost his original copy during the War; what he prints reads: "May there be peace (יהנ no doubt for יהי) in this place and in all the places . . . (יעמו ?) Israel." Mr. Burrows suggests at the beginning "May the Lord give" (יתן [יהוה]), and proposes to complete the gap by reading "of His people." This involves reading עמי for יעמו; either the ו (yôd) is a mistake, or it may be the "constructive ending" appended to the plural feminine, for which an analogy can be cited.

Old Babylonian Contracts. By Edward Chiera, Ph.D.

This volume completes the publication of legal documents from Nippur of the earliest dynasties, and now in the possession of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Among the tablets—which are in Sumerian and are temple-accounts—is a legal decision referring to a murder; it appears to be the oldest record in existence of a penal judgment. The tablets range over a wide field. We see a man marrying a widow and adopting

her children; we have "one sucking baby" bought from its parents. A young man is adopted and undertakes to provide for his parents. Houses are exchanged, and one man exchanges a donkey, value three shekels of gold, for a large vase, and it is stipulated that should the donkey prove to be subject to fright, there shall be no complaint. Priestly offices are bought and sold. Apart from their extreme importance for Assyriology—or rather Sumeriology — they are of unusual interest for the light they throw upon ancient conditions.

Selected Temple Accounts from Telloh, Yokhah, and Drehem. By Dr. E. Chiera.

These records, preserved in the library of Princeton University, belong to the Ur Dynasty, and comprise the accounts kept by the temple-scribes, the enumeration of interests, offerings, revenues, expenses, and so forth. Although not so extensive as the preceding, they include many details of interest bearing upon the religious and ordinary life of the time.

Revue Biblique. October, 1922.

M. Gustave Lefebvre considers points of contact between Egyptians and Hebrews as regards moral philosophy. Father Dhorme continues his elaborate study of the metaphorical use of names of parts of the body in Hebrew and Akkadian. Father Vincent discusses a type of Byzantine baptistry at kh. el-Flusiyeh, south-east of Lake Serbonis. Various megalithic structures are described by Father Abel: differing somewhat in form, they are none the less of common parentage, and his illustrated study is an interesting contribution to a vexed archaeological problem.

British Museum: Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities. 3rd edition, revised and enlarged, 1922.

The new edition of this well-known guide, with its 49 plates and 45 illustrations in the text, will be welcomed by those who know the value of the old edition, and can be commended to those who desire a cheap, handy and reliable introduction to Mesopotamian archaeology. Sir Wallis Budge states that in the preparation he has had the assistance of Dr. Hall (on the excavations at Ur of the Chaldees, etc.), Mr. Sidney Smith (Mitanni, Urartu, etc.), and Mr. C. J. Gradd (Elam, Sumer and Babylon).

The *Palästinajahrbuch*, edited by Prof. Gustav Dalman, recent numbers of which have been sent to us, contains numerous important articles, of which the following is a summary: Vol. X, 1914, Alt, Thutmose III in Palestine. Vol. XI, 1915, Dalman, Jerusalem, Ancient and Modern, and its significance in the Great War; the same, Zion, the Citadel of Jerusalem; Bernhard Schmidt, the Celebration of the Holy Fire in the Church of the Sepulchre. Vol. XII, 1916, Dalman, Military Routes in Ancient and Modern times; also Roads North of Jerusalem and the Threat in Isaiah x; also, the Mount of Olives; Hartmann, Arab Accounts of the Miracle of the Holy Fire. Vol. XIII, 1917, Dalman, Palestinian Islam; also, the Jews in Palestine; Schmaltz, the Holy Fire in its relation to the Liturgy and Ancient Light-rites in the Mysteries, etc. Vol. XIV, 1918, Dalman, the Water Supply of Ancient Jerusalem; Riemer, the Site of Emmaus; Oelgarte, the Beth-horon Road; Schlatter, the Decapolis. Vol. XV, 1919, Dalman, Gilgal and the Stone-circles of Palestine, etc. Vol. XVI, 1920, Dalman, Archaeology and the Rock of Golgotha; also, the Tobia Inscription of 'Arak el-Emīr and Dan. xi, 14; also, the Model of the Church of the Sepulchre, etc., in Jerusalem; Van Berchem, Arabic Inscriptions in Jerusalem. Vol. XVII, 1921, Weidenkaff, Ain Jalud and the O.T. Well of Harod; Sutterlin, Tekoa; Lundgreen, the Palestinian Military Organization in N.T. Times.

Das Grab Christi in Deutschland. By Prof. Gustav Dalman. Leipzig, 1922.

The book, with 29 blocks and 12 tables, is the result of a survey of all the representations of the Holy Tomb to be found in Germany. It is a work of no little archaeological interest, since it involves a study of the different types in existence and the motives which prompted their diffusion. In a Preface Prof. Dalman observes that his last visit to Jerusalem convinced him that, although excavation may reveal the rock upon which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was founded, it will not throw light upon the building erected here. The critical study of the traditions and traditional representations, which he undertook in the *Palästinajahrbuch* for 1913, in his book on the places and roads visited by Jesus (*see Q.S.* 1922, p. 182), and in the present monograph, is accordingly amply justified.

S. A. C.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CROCODILES IN PALESTINE.

In connection with articles that have appeared in recent *Quarterly Statements* of the Palestine Exploration Fund (for example, January, 1921, p. 19), concerning crocodiles in Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel has kindly forwarded a memorandum descriptive of a crocodile skin, said to be of the last crocodile killed in Palestine, which has been presented by Miss Frances Newton, of Haifa, to the Zoological Museum of the Department of Agriculture of the Palestine Government.

The memorandum is as follows:—

The skin of a crocodile (*Crocodilus vulgaris*), which is believed to be the last of this particular species to be killed in Palestine, has been very kindly presented to the Museum by Miss Frances E. Newton, of Haifa.

This skin hung originally in the house of the then Persian Consul in Haifa, which residence was purchased by Miss Newton in 1910. Mr. Scopenich (the Consul) and his family had lived in Haifa for many years, and he gave a written guarantee that the crocodile was killed in the River Zerka below Zummarin. This was confirmed by various other people who knew the facts and countersigned the document, which was registered in the Consulate. The document was unfortunately stolen from Miss Newton's house during the war.

The peasants destroyed the reptile by crushing its head, and the feet were cut off by Dr. Schumacher, who attempted to purchase the skin from the peasants, but failed to do so owing to the fact that it had already been sold to Mr. Scopenich.

At the date of writing (January, 1923) both these witnesses are alive, also the individual who cured the skin, and all are in a position to vouch for the authenticity of these particulars.

SECRETARIAT,
Government House,
Jerusalem.

14*th February*, 1923.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Annual Meeting this year, held at the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries on June 20th, was very well attended, and has already had a quite unique notice in the public press. Professor Macalister's address upon the prospects of work at the site of the City of David (p. 118) will be read with interest, and Dr. Hall's lecture (p. 124) supplements much that Professor Macalister said by showing that there is a long period of little-known, but most stirring, pre-Israelite history which may be revealed on the forthcoming excavations. The decision made shortly before the Annual Meeting that the new excavation should be called a "Joint Expedition of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the *Daily Telegraph*" has been very well received, and the latter journal the following morning devoted space to a very remarkable leading article, and no less than four other columns of print, to the subject of the "City of David." In these they gave a very full account of our Annual Meeting and also the first of a series of articles by Professor R. A. S. Macalister upon the Site of the City of David. We strongly advise our members to read the series as they appear in the *Daily Telegraph*.

The speech of the Chairman, Dr. D. G. Hogarth, makes it plain that the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* leave the Committee of the Fund entirely untrammelled as regards the arrangements for the prosecution of the work. In their issue (June 21st) they say "The entire direction of the excavations will remain in the hands of the Fund, and it has been decided that reports of the progress of the work published in the *Daily Telegraph* shall be at the service of any other newspaper free of cost."

It would be a great misfortune if supporters of the Fund imagined that because we have now the guaranteed minimum of £5,000, they can afford to relax their efforts to get together more

money. The £1,000 guaranteed from the P.E.F.'s general funds practically exhausts every penny of our reserve fund, leaving us nothing for publication of the results, or for any emergency. This fund should not be touched at all if possible. Further, the work cannot possibly be brought to completion, or anything approaching completion, for £5,000. Professor Garstang has put the needed sum at £15,000, but this is, we believe, an under-estimate.

In view of the wide diffusion of the news of this new undertaking we confidently hope that donations and new annual subscriptions will flow in. May we remind any possible new subscribers that a donation of five guineas, followed by an annual subscription of one guinea, qualifies for *Membership*, and that the payment of twenty-five guineas qualifies for *Life Membership*.

In addition to a full account of this, the most important Annual Meeting in the history of the Society, the present number of the *Q.S.* contains an obituary of the late Professor Clermont-Ganneau, one of the oldest friends of the P.E.F., and well-known to our readers for his long series of brilliant notes and contributions. Mr. Phythian-Adams sends an illustrated report of his soundings at Tell Jemmeh; his suggestion that this is no other than the biblical Gerar is of extreme interest, and would throw light on some Old Testament difficulties. From Mr. Ovenden, our Assistant Secretary, we receive some account of the valuable work of the Americans at Beth Shean; their discovery of two Egyptian historical inscriptions is of really unusual importance, see pp. 130 *sq.*, 149.

The Office will be closed from Monday, August 6th, for three weeks, re-opening on Monday, August 27th. During that time letters may be sent to the Hon. Secretary, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, Medical Superintendent's House, Camberwell Infirmary, S.E. 5. But letters posted direct to the Office will be fetched weekly.

The attention of subscribers is respectfully called to the following request. Money Orders, especially those for small amounts, should in future be made payable to the P.O., "W.1," the postal district in which the Office of the Fund is situated. Those marked G.P.O. must be taken to the General Post Office, which is a considerable

distance away, and time and money are consumed in cashing them. The co-operation of subscribers in this matter would be very highly appreciated.

The attention of subscribers is also respectfully called to the following excellent suggestion from a Derby subscriber :—

> "I regret to learn from your announcement in the *Q.S.* for April that a prospect of an early start on the excavation of the 'City of David' is endangered by lack of funds. Following up your suggestion, I am willing to guarantee doubled subscription for the next three years, on condition that you make immediate effort to induce other subscribers to follow suit."

We read in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 16th, a long letter by Mr. Joseph Palmer, in reference to the work of the P.E.F. Attention is drawn to the plans and prospects of the Society for the excavation of Ophel, and the writer well reminds Australian readers of what we have so far been able to achieve. He says :—

> "Scarcely any exploratory work has been done in Jerusalem, and comparatively little in the whole of Palestine, except by British people, and it will be a calamity if the honour of the great undertaking, now become for the first time possible, should fall to foreigners."

After referring to an earlier letter by our Sydney representative, the Rev. W. P. F. Dorph, he adds :—

> "This undertaking seems to have a special claim on Australians in view of all that this country has already done for Palestine in rescuing it from Turkish misrule and oppression. Since the war ended there has been no great call on the generosity of Australian people, and a repetition now of a few large subscriptions, as well as many smaller ones, such as those that were given to various war philanthropies a few years ago, would seem specially appropriate for the purpose proposed."

Mr. Raffaeli sends from Jerusalem wax impressions of a seal with Phoenician letters. It is of soft grey agate, and is supposed to read ᶜ – *m* [Mr. Pilcher reads *s*] – *r*, *l* – *h* – *th*, *b* – *g*. Unfortunately it is too imperfect for anything to be made of it with any confidence.

The "Palestine Letter" from Jerusalem (dated May 11th) in *The Near East* (May 31st) contains the following interesting statement on a new Anglo-Jewish colony :—

> "Gezer (the Mound of Many Cities) seems destined to receive yet another stratum of civilisation. Last Tuesday an interesting ceremony took place when the High Commissioner 'cut the first sod' of what is hoped to become a new Jewish settlement in Judaea, near the village of Abu Shusheh (why will our local authorities perpetuate the unsatisfactory and misleading French transliteration 'Abou Chuche' in the face of their own transliteration rules ?), to the north of Ramleh on the way to Jerusalem, a site identified fifty years ago by the French archaeologist, Clermont-Ganneau, with ancient Gezer. Many other Jewish settlements have, of course, been inaugurated up and down Palestine during the last few years ; but the particular interest in this case is that the proposed colony is to be Anglo-Jewish."

A full account of the proceedings is given in *The Palestine Weekly* of May 18th. A station on the main Jerusalem—Jaffa railway was recently opened at Naaneh, within a short distance of the estate, which adds to the importance of the site. Various speakers and writers comment upon the extreme historic significance of Gezer; but, we are bound to add, they do not always recall what the fame and general interest of Gezer owe to the prolonged and exhaustive—and expensive—excavations carried on by the Fund.

The Palestine Weekly (June 1st) comments also upon the still serious problem of the water-supply in Jerusalem, a solution of which, it was hoped, had been found when the water-supply was inaugurated at Solomon's Pools.

Subscribers will recollect that the map of the Negeb or Wilderness of Zin, which should have accompanied the 1914–15 Annual, had then to be withheld from publication owing to the War. The Committee are glad to announce that the map has now been prepared for the Fund by the War Office, and a copy will be supplied gratis to those Members desirous of procuring it to complete their record of the 1914 Survey. Applications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

Photo-relief map of Palestine: This popular little map, which is reproduced by collotype process from the well-known raised maps, has been reprinted and is now on sale. It measures (with margin) 29 × 19 inches and contains some hundreds of Biblical names. The price to subscribers is 2*s.* 6*d.*, and to non-subscribers 3*s.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 108, 109.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special donations:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
F. T. Lewis, Esq.	5	0	0
(Omitted by mistake from April List.)			
Charles Marston, Esq.	1,000	0	0
H. R. Hall, Esq., D.Litt...	15	15	0
Rt. Rev. Bishop Ryle, D.D.	10	0	0
Owen S. Tudor, Esq.	5	0	0
F. S. Penny, Esq.	2	2	0
Mrs. John Lamont	1	1	0
David Carruthers, Esq.	1	1	0
T. Woolgar, Esq.	1	1	0
E. F. Evans, Esq.	1	1	0
Rev. W. E. Evill...	1	1	0
Miss A. M. Parker	1	0	0
Melville Gray, Esq.	1	0	0
Anonymous (per Rev. W. P. F. Dorph, Hon. Sec. for New South Wales) ...	1	0	0

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have also to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.

The Near East, April 5th : The Palestine Problem. May 24th, &c., The Palestine Ideal.

The Unpublished Objects from the Palaikastro Excavations, 1902–1906 ; by R. C. Bosanquet and R. M. Dawkins. British School at Athens. Supplementary Paper, No. 1.

Palestine Peasantry. By Mrs. Finn.

Emmaus Identified. By Mrs. Finn.

The Expository Times.

Palestine.

The Zionist Review.

Monthly Summary of Events of Jewish Interest, March.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

American Journal of Archaeology, Jan.–Mar., 1923 : The Deities of the Sacred Axe, by Margaret C. Waites ; Proceedings of the 24th Meeting of the American Arch. Inst. ; Archaeological News, July–Dec., 1922.

Smithsonian Institution. Report for the year ended June 30th, 1922.

Geographical Review (New York), April.

Art and Archaeology, April : The Magic Art of Egypt, by D. S. Corlett ; Ancient Costume and Modern Archaeology, by Mary MacAlister ; Archaeology and Moving Pictures, by B. L. Ullman, etc.

Christian Herald, Feb. 3rd : The High Places of Modern Palestine, by Rev. Amos I. Dushaw.

Hebrew Christian Alliance Quarterly, April : Hermann L. Strack, by Prof. Gressmann.

Homiletic Review.

Jewish Quarterly Review.

Capharnaüm et ses Ruines : d'après les fouilles accomplies a Tell Houm, par la Custodie Franciscaine de Terre Sainte (1905–1921). P. Gaudence Orfali, O.F.M., Docteur en Théologie licencié ès Sciences Bibliques.

Revue Biblique, April : Un hypogée juif à Bethphagé, by R. P. Gaudence Orfali ; une crypte byzantine à Beit Djālā, by R. P. Abel ; l'année archéologique 1922 en Palestine, by R. P. Vincent.

Biblica, Vol. IV, I, March.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung : Monatsschrift für die Wissensc aft vom ganzen Orient.

Bible Lands, April : Tutānkhāmen ; Hasidism, by Canon Danby.

Palestine Weekly, March 30th : At the cross-roads of three continents, by D. W. Wilson ; May 11th : The Palestine Harbour Problem : Haifa or Jaffa ?

NEA ΣΙΩΝ.

Al-Mashrik. Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle, May : Bulletin Archéologique : Syrie et Phénicie, by P. C. Cheikho, S.J., etc.

The Committee have to acknowledge, in response to the appeal below, Prof. Flinders Petrie's *Tell el-Hesy* (*Lachish*), from the Author.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener.*

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

The Fifty-eighth Annual General Meeting of the Fund was held at the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, W., on Wednesday, 20th June, 1923, D. G. Hogarth, Esq., C.M.G., D.Litt., F.S.A. (Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum), presiding.

Letters of apology were read by the Chairman from Sir George Adam Smith, Rev. Dr. Ewing, Rev. George Christian, Dr. Barbour, Miss Stewart, Rev. Prof. Sayce, Bishop Ryle, and Rev. Prof. Robertson Buchanan.

Dr. E. W. G. Masterman (Hon. Secretary) then read the Minutes of the Meeting held on May 30th, 1922, which were confirmed and signed by the Chairman.

Dr. E. W. G. Masterman announced that last year the Society included upwards of 300 members, and that 83 new names had since qualified for membership.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen. We meet to-day on a truly epoch-making occasion in the history of this Society, for we are about to undertake the excavation of the City of David. That has always been the goal of our ambition and the ambition of everyone who has ever wished to excavate in Palestine. I do not think I need enlarge upon the extraordinary interest of that particular site. I do not say that it is an excavator's site. I do not say that, if it were not for its special interest, it is a site which an excavator simply in search of antiquities would choose, because there is a rocky hill, and what we shall have to expect are rather pockets of earth than any very great continuous blanket of earth which may conceal unlimited possibilities. In fact, the excavation of Ophel will be more like that of the Acropolis of Athens than anything I myself have seen. Those who know the Museum of modern Athens will know from the extraordinary wealth of things to be seen there what an immense light was thrown upon the history of Athens by the nature of the discoveries made upon the summit of the Acropolis. And it is something of that kind we must expect upon the Hill of Ophel.

I should like to read what was thought by the Dean of Westminster of this particular project. He has written to Dr. Masterman, our Honorary Secretary, as follows :—

> "It has always been my hope, since British control was established in Jerusalem, that this work might be undertaken, provided that a skilled excavator and archaeologist was in command of the enterprise. Nothing, in my opinion, could be of more value and interest than the excavation of this site. I have always dreamed that the tombs of the kings might be found; and it is quite conceivable that beneath the accumulations of rubbish the most valuable discoveries might be made, possibly going back to the time of David and Solomon. At any rate, I congratulate you upon the step which has been taken, and still more upon your good fortune in obtaining the skilled assistance of Prof. Macalister. You could not have found a better man for the work. I enclose you a cheque for £10, and I wish you and your colleagues all success in what I should regard as research of most thrilling possibilities. The country ought to be grateful for the assistance given by *The Daily Telegraph*."

There is another letter from an old friend and member of this Society well known to everybody here by name, if not personally, namely, Prof. Sayce.

You see what the Dean of Westminster expects. We shall all expect different things from the Tomb of Ophel according to our particular idiosyncrasies; but I should like to say that the Fund does not dig there expecting, or hoping, for any particular thing, and that it certainly does not mean to dig there in the interest of any one particular hope. We are going there to fulfil the first duty of an excavator, which is to dig right down to the bedrock of that portion of the site which is allotted to us, to record everything and to publish everything. As the Dean of Westminster has said, we are peculiarly fortunate in that we have been able to secure for this work the services of Professor Macalister (hear, hear), because, as all those who know his record realise, and as all those who have read his three great volumes on Gezer also know, he belongs to that class of excavators who find the small things, which are very often much more valuable than the big. He does not leave other people to find the things

which you cannot miss because you break your shins over them in the dark! I have seen that kind of excavator fairly often. Professor Macalister is not of that type. You may be perfectly certain that what there is in the soil of that portion of the Hill of Ophel which is allotted to us will be found, recorded and published. As I say, we have always wished to excavate the Hill of Ophel, but we have never had the funds for the purpose until now. It is the question of funds, as perhaps I might now explain, which has caused us to interrupt that excavation which we undertook three or four years ago on the site of Askalon. The site of Askalon was one of extraordinary interest if you could get down to the bottom of it. But in those lean years which, you will remember, immediately followed the War, it was not to be expected that the name of Askalon would cause people to unbutton their tightly-buttoned pockets and open their purses. The result was that as soon as we found we were up against that, as soon as we found we had to deal with a site with an enormous overlying stratum of later remains, a site, part of which was cultivated and expensive to appropriate, we were compelled to desist from the attempt to uncover the Philistine City.

The Hill of Ophel is a far more attractive site to those who are able to support us, and I am glad to say that not only are we secure as regards the Palestine Government, for we have received a telegram assuring us that we shall have the Concession of a part of the site and that we can begin our work without delay, but we have also been assured by a series of most fortunate occurrences of the proper supply of funds. I should say that the Palestine Government stipulated that £5,000 must be in hand before they would allow any part of the site of Ophel to be dug. That seemed to us at first rather a hard saying, but on reflection we saw that the Palestine Government was perfectly right. It has to clear the site, to expropriate the owners, and it would, of course, land them in extreme difficulties if the excavations were begun and then, as in the case of Askalon, had to be abandoned. They were perfectly justified in stipulating that there should be such funds forthcoming at once as would secure the continuance of the excavations for at least two years.

In view of the present expense of all excavation work we cannot reckon that the sum of £5,000 will necessarily last more than two years; at the same time, however, we hope it will. That

£5,000 has been got together in this way: Your Society was able by considerable strain, and with the assistance of the British Academy, to provide £2,000 of it. Then an unexpected and very generous and public-spirited benefactor in the person of Mr. Charles Marston, whom we are glad to welcome here (applause)—knowing our difficulties and knowing the extreme uncertainty of our obtaining that money by merely issuing appeals for public response, came forward with a generous offer of £2,000 without any conditions whatever. (Applause.) He does not ask that we should dig the site in any particular way or that he should receive any part of the proceeds in the form of antiquities. He does not stipulate, in fact, anything but simply gives us, in the most open-handed and generous way, £2,000 in order that this great scientific work may go forward. That put us in possession of £4,000. The remaining £1,000 has been made up by the public spirit of Lord Burnham, the proprietor, as everyone knows, of a very great journal. He is acting partly from his own interest in the excavation of a sacred city like that of Ophel. He is also acting in the interests of his great journal. He places at our disposal not only £1,000 now, but he has been good enough, not to promise, but to suggest, that if the work prospers and if more money is forthcoming, that he may be able to find still more for us in the future. (Applause.)

More than that, as Prof. Sayce has indicated in the letter I read to you just now, Lord Burnham secures for us that publicity which is so essential. If we are to ever undertake other sites than the City of David, sites which appeal less strongly to the public mind, if they appeal hardly less strongly to the scientific mind, —as, *e.g.*, Askalon—we need to be better known, and we shall attain that through the interest which Lord Burnham betrays in us by his generous gift. He only asks in return that the Expedition shall be called the Joint Expedition of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the *Daily Telegraph*. Your Committee has seen no reason not to agree gladly to that. But at the same time Lord Burnham has most emphatically said that the whole management of the excavation shall remain in the hands of the Palestine Exploration Fund. They will be the managers; it will be for them to treat with the Government of Palestine and it will be for them to determine how and in what way results shall be published. Only, every article written by any member of the staff upon the excavation during the course of the work will be put at the

discretion of the *Daily Telegraph*; they can publish it if they like, or pass it on if they like. I ought to add that Lord Burnham has said that when the *Daily Telegraph* has published the reports of the excavation from the City of Ophel he will then place what has appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* at the service of every newspaper and every publishing agency in the world, free of cost. (Applause.) So that the news of what we do will go out into the ends of the world, and I think it will not be difficult to find in any part of the world someone, and generally a number of people, who have a great interest in the exploration of Jesusalem.

We start, therefore, our excavation under singularly favourable auspices. Not only in the respects of which I have already spoken, but also in the matter of the Palestine Government. It will be within your knowledge that the present High Commissioner of the British Government under the British Mandate in Palestine has always been one of our warmest and most constant friends. Sir Herbert Samuel has displayed throughout the greatest interest in our excavations, and has been present at one or two of our meetings when in London, and we can be perfectly certain that he will give this excavation every support in his power—and a very great deal is in his power. We are further fortunate in having as Director of the Department of Antiquities in Jerusalem at the present time Professor Garstang. Professor Garstang, as also you must know, is himself a very distinguished and successful excavator. He knows not only what should be done in excavation; he knows what should be done in the way of recording an excavation, what should be done in the way of publishing the results of an excavation, and he is not in the least afraid to insist that what he knows is right shall be done. I think we are very fortunate in having to deal with him. He will be present in Jerusalem probably during most of the time the excavation is going on, and we shall be able to refer to him on any matter of difficulty which we have with the inhabitants, the Government, or in any other direction. He is assisted, as you know, by Mr. Phythian-Adams, who has actually been the honorary representative of the Palestine Exploration Fund in the excavations of last year. He is also a trained archaeologist, trained by several excavations in the north and in Syria, and his assistance and co-operation will be very valuable to us. I think I need say no more with regard to the staff we are going to send except

this: that we hope to give Professor Macalister, before he goes, a trained assistant who will be able, should it be necessary in the future, to carry on the excavations when Professor Macalister's many duties at home recall him from the work he is eager to go out to do. So I think we may say that we start very well equipped on this excavation of the City of David on the Hill of Ophel.

I may say the excavation is intended to cover the whole of that semi-circular area lying to the south of the Haram, but I need hardly say it is not intended to entrench in any shape or form upon the Haram. We shall respect every prejudice, every sensibility and sentiment. No one need think for one moment that there is any chance whatever of the jealously-guarded area of the Haram being in anyway violated by the work done by us or anybody else connected with the excavation of Ophel.

I see, indeed, only one small cloud upon the horizon. I do not think it will grow to cover the whole sky as once on neighbouring Carmel. I think it will disappear. Of course you cannot help noticing for yourselves in the papers accounts of a certain liveliness in Palestine, a certain unrest upon the roads, a certain tendency to political boycott on the part of the Arabs. I do not myself think that will be in the least likely to impede our work at Jerusalem. It is the last place in which it will impede it. Had we been on some distant provincial site in Philistia, for instance, there might have been some danger; but we may observe at Beisan, which, although it is upon the railway between Haifa and the Sea of Galilee, is rather a remote place with a surrounding Bedouin population which does not enjoy too good repute, that the American excavators who are there have been in no way interfered with by any political conditions. I think on the whole we may confidently expect that, so long as the British Government maintains a firm hand in that country—and it is likely to do so at least as long as this excavation goes on—we excavators will be in no danger of disturbance or our plans in no danger of being brought to nought. So I think we may all congratulate ourselves on being present to-day on an occassion on which we make a public announcement of certainly the greatest and most important enterprise which your Society has ever undertaken and one which is likely to attract by far the greatest attention from the whole civilised world, not only of the Christian denomination but of all other denominations. (Applause.)

I should like to say one word more, if you will allow me. On this occasion one cannot help regretting particularly the absence of one of our recent colleagues upon the Executive Committee, and that is Professor George Buchanan Gray. He was present when the first intimation was made to the Society that the excavation at Ophel was in contemplation ; that is to say, when the Palestine Government first communicated to the Society its desire that that hill should be dug and its determination by the legal means in its power to make that excavation possible. He was a constant attendant at the meetings of the Executive Committee, and brought to it immense knowledge and very sound judgment. You know how suddenly he was called last autumn. I can only say, speaking for the Executive Committee, that we can hardly imagine any member of it whom we could more ill have spared, and certainly at the present moment one could wish that Professor Buchanan Gray were present here in person to see the fulfilment of the hopes which he always himself cherished warmly. If there was any one member of the Committee more than another who particularly wished the City of David should be dug and become the main aim of the energies of the Fund it was George Buchanan Gray.

Dr. E. W. G. Masterman. — I want also to read, as is customary on these occasions, the names of other members deceased since the last Annual Meeting :—

Of the Executive Committee :

Rev. Professor G. Buchanan Gray.
Mr. W. H. Rylands.

Of the General Committee :

Lord Eustace Cecil.
Père Germer Durand.
M. Clermont-Ganneau.
Rev. James Hastings.
Professor Henry Porter.
Professor T. Witton Davies.

The Chairman.—I now beg formally to move the adoption of the Report and Accounts in your hands.

Prof. MACALISTER.—It is my duty to second that motion, and I may perhaps take the opportunity of saying a word or two about the work to which you, Mr. Chairman, have so sympathetically referred.

Through the generosity of a small number of subscribers, the Palestine Exploration Fund has been put in a position to organize, and to undertake single-handed, an enterprise which, when it was originally planned, was expected to call for the co-operation of a number of different societies of as many different nationalities. With the Palestine Exploration Fund will be associated the *Daily Telegraph*, a newspaper which has had an honourable record in connection with exploration work in the East. We recall with pleasure that it was the *Daily Telegraph* which financed the expedition of George Smith to Kuyunjik, after that remarkable man had discovered the first of the "Flood Tablets," now in the British Museum, in the year 1873.

The excavation which, it is hoped, will begin in September next, will be on the Eastern Hill, south of the present walls of Jerusalem—the hill accepted by practically all modern scholarship as the site of the original Jebusite fortress, which afterwards became "The City of David," or, as Sir G. A. Smith more picturesquely renders the Hebrew name, "Davidsburgh." I am looking forward to be associated practically with the work for the first three or four months, but my University and other duties in Ireland will not permit me to remain longer in the field; the work will, after the end of the present year, be in the charge of my future colleague.

When a work of the kind is in contemplation it is inevitable that the excavator should be asked "What do you hope to find?" If he is a wise man he will imitate a famous character in Ethiopian folklore, and will "lie low and say nuffin'." Excavation is essentially a work that involves disappointments and surprises; and the excavator who goes to a site with the intention, or even in the expectation, of finding an inscription of some particular king, or of solving some outstanding problem in topography, is inevitably laying up disillusionment both for himself and for his patrons. By the new regulations under which the work is carried out, the expedition is entitled to the concession of a certain area of land, proportioned to the amount of the funds subscribed for the work; I calculate that we shall have,

speaking very roughly, about an acre assigned to us. We shall dig that acre as thoroughly as possible, and shall take out of it whatever gifts the gods may see fit to send us.

What those gifts will be I do not presume to foretell. What they might be could be made the subject of almost endless speculations. It is on the whole wiser to pitch our anticipations low rather than high. On that account I would put in the forefront the grounds for *discouragement*. Let us not forget, first, that the native civilization of the country was never very high, so far as art products are concerned. It was practically entirely dependent for its art upon foreign civilizations, in turn Egypt, Crete, Cyprus, Babylon, Greece, Rome. The iconoclastic reforms of the late kings of Judah, such as Hezekiah and Josiah, were naturally most of all directed against foreign abuses at the capital itself; and, therefore, little in the way even of imported works of art is to be anticipated.

Again, we must remember the perfectly extraordinary scarcity in Palestine of historical inscriptions. Excavations have been carried on since 1867 at Jerusalem itself, Lachish, Taanach, Megiddo, Samaria, Jericho, Gath, Azekah, Marissa, Gezer—and the total record of literary inscriptions in stone, previous to the Exile, still remains where it was—the stele of King Mesha of Moab, and the inscription in the Siloam Tunnel: that is all. We can hardly add, even as a makeweight, the calendar-tablet from Gezer. But if such inscriptions are anywhere at all, they ought to be in Jerusalem!

Moreover, let us not forget how many times the city has been besieged and pillaged by powerful monarchs greedy of gold. The Treasures of the Temple have been either captured by foreign pillagers, or used by native kings to buy off foreign aggressors, over and over again. These stores of gold had to be replaced, and no doubt the gold possessed by the private citizens was levied for the purpose. Hence, we need scarcely expect any hidden stores of wealth in the shape of the precious metals, whether worked or unworked.

In the fourth place, I confess that I am much perturbed when I read the account given by Josephus of certain operations carried out by Simon Maccabaeus. Down to the time of that great leader there was something in Jerusalem called "The Akra." It was a sort of citadel, and was so lofty that it over-

topped the Temple, making it possible for a hostile army to occupy it and to attack the Temple and its worshippers. Indeed, so convenient was it for this purpose that in the days of Artiochus Epiphanes, who was determined to destroy all the distinctive features of Judaism, the Temple was actually deserted, and those who refused to submit to the king's edicts fled from the Holy City. After the successful Maccabaean rising, when the Temple worship was restored, Simon summoned all the citizens of Jerusalem, and caused them not only to demolish the citadel, but actually to level the hill upon which it was built, so that never again could the Temple be thus commanded.

No one knows exactly where the Akra was, but certain rather obscure topographical indications have suggested to some scholars that it was on the site of the City of David. If then Simon demolished this building and levelled the underlying hill, casting the materials into the adjacent valley—Josephus tells us that the citizens of Jerusalem worked unceasingly, day and night, for three years—then what untold damage he must have done to the remains of the city of the Jebusites and of David!

I have emphasised these four facts because they should not be forgotten. They must necessarily influence our anticipations, and may quite possibly be the cause of real disappointment.

But we need not remain altogether in this sombre mood. In the first place, we shall surely find evidence from which various aspects of the daily life of the city can be reconstructed. Our history shows us an almost empty city through which David and Absalom, Ahaz and Isaiah, Jeremiah and Jehoiakim pursue their lonely courses, each according to his own disposition. We shall people that city with potters and carpenters, with bronze-workers and smiths; we shall bring the crowds on to the stage and reveal the very people who jostled the living men that bore the names just mentioned. Whatever may not be found, of this at least we can be sure, we shall paint in a background that the historians have only vaguely outlined. We must not overlook the fact that at any given moment in the history of the city, for one man whose name has crept into the record there were thousands who were not so fortunate; so that the probability is enormously in favour of our work being among the "mute, inglorious" folk, rather than among the men of fame.

But if we were to give reins to our imagination, of what

prizes might we not dream! The Tell el Amarna tablets reveal to us a king called Abdi-Khiba, an accomplished intriguer and diplomat. He must have conducted a correspondence with other kings in Palestine and with the king of Egypt: this follows almost inevitably from the contents of the six or seven letters written in his name that were included in the correspondence referred to. His archive-chamber ought to be somewhere in the mound, and *might* be in our acre. Then David, and yet more probably Solomon, might well have set up an inscribed monument setting forth their victories; there is no valid reason why this is to be rejected as inadmissible. As for the Tomb of David, I should like to say a word. There have been some quite unauthorised articles in the papers, especially in America, stating that the Tomb of David is the objective of the proposed expedition. I desire emphatically to contradict this. The objective of the expedition is to excavate a certain area of the ancient city, and to discover what may lie hidden therein — nothing more and nothing less. If the Tomb of David happens to be within the area, we shall find it; but even then we must not expect a Palestinian sensation like the discovery of the tomb of Tut-ankh-amen last year. That is one of the might-have-beens, if, once more, we are to believe Josephus, who tells us that John Hyreanus, son of Simon Maccabaeus, opened the Tomb of David and took out of it no less than three thousand talents of silver—which he expended, at least partly, in maintaining an army of foreign mercenaries. And later, Herod the Great, "having heard that Hyreanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's sepulchre, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was a much greater number left behind, and indeed to suffice all his wants, he had opened that sepulchre by night and went into it. . . . . As for any money, he found none as Hyreanus had done, but that furniture of gold and precious goods were laid up there; all of which he took away." So that even if the tomb be found it will be an empty cave, like the countless rifled tombs which gape in the hillsides all round the city.

When we come to the later phases of the monarchy of Judah, we naturally think of the prosperous times of King Uzziah. It is not improbable that he is directly referred to on a seal, now in the Louvre, belonging to a person describing himself as

Shebaniah, servant of Uzziah. A little later the Assyrian menace is weighing heavily upon the city: the famous Siloam tunnel was constructed under its shadow. Later still, Judaea becomes completely tributary to Assyria, and Assyrian legal forms are imposed upon its peoples. Two Assyrian tablets were found at Gezer, relating to the sale of property, and dated about this time; and it has been noticed that the description of the documents involved in Jeremiah's purchase of a field at Anathoth fits the appearance of a cuneiform clay tablet, with its countersigned envelope. Further relics of this phase of the history might come to light.

Of the post-exilic period many important remains are already known, and many no doubt are still awaiting discovery. The foundations of some of the chief structures erected by Herod have yet to be found, though it is improbable that these will be included in the area at our disposal. I, therefore, shall say nothing about them, nor shall I speak of the problem of the identification of the Pool of Bethesda.

As an illustration of the unexpected, I may make a passing reference to the Synagogue remains, with the important inscription of Theodotos discovered by M. Raymond Weill just before the outbreak of the War. When we get on to the possibility of important buildings of which there is little or no literary record, the field of speculation is quite limitless.

Thus, though there is ground for discouragement, as I have not hesitated to admit, there is also ground for hope. We are setting forth into unknown waters; we may meet with but moderate results, but we may win prizes of the first magnitude. Nothing is certain: but anything is possible.

Those are just a few preliminary remarks which comprise all one can venture to say about the work at present in contemplation. I now simply content myself with seconding the motion proposed by the Chairman. (Applause.)

The Report and Accounts were then unanimously adopted.

Dr. Percy D'Erf Wheeler: I beg to move that the following gentlemen be elected to the Executive Committee for 1923:—

Chairman: H. R. Hall, Esq., D.Litt., F.S.A.

Hon. Treasurer: Colonel Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., F.R.S.

Hon. Secretary: E. W. G. Masterman, Esq., M.D., F.R.C.S.
Stanley A. Cook, Esq., Litt.D. (*Editor*).
Rev. Canon Dalton, K.C.V.O., C.M.G.
Prof. Archibald C. Dickie, M.A., F.S.A.
Sir Arthur Evans, D.Litt., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Hon. Everard Feilding.
D. G. Hogarth, Esq., C.M.G., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A.
Lieut.-Colonel E. M. Jack, C.M.G., D.S.O.
A. W. A. Leeper, Esq., C.B.E.
Prof. R. A. Stewart Macalister, Litt.D., F.S.A.
Charles Marston, Esq.
Robert L. Mond, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.
Hon. W. G. E. Ormsby-Gore, M.P.
Brig.-General E. N. Paul, C.B., R.E.
F. W. Percival, Esq., F.S.A.
Sir William M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., Litt.D., LL.D., Ph.D., F.R.S.
Rev. Prof. Sayce, LL.D., D.D., D.Litt.
Rev. P. N. Waggett.
General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E.

Bishop MacCarthy: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the pleasure of seconding the proposal for the election of the Executive Committee whose names have just been read, and in doing so, with your permission, sir, I should like to congratulate the authorities of this Fund upon the splendid future that seems to lie before them in this excavation which is about to take place at the City of David. I think it appeals to the imagination and to the interest of so many tens of thousands of people in our own country and in other countries; in fact my own impression, ever since the very few years during which I have been just a simple subscriber to this wonderful Society, has been one of extreme wonder that the work in which it is engaged, being so intensely interesting to all who know anything of the Bible, to all who are in any way interested in the history of ancient times, my wonder is always that there are not thousands upon thousands of subscribers of a simple guinea a year instead of the comparatively few who do subscribe. I do wish some way could be found of making the work of the Society more thoroughly known in various centres throughout the

country. I cannot help thinking, though I am not prepared to say how it should be done, that there must be some way of making the work and the needs of the Fund better known. There must be thousands of people in all the great centres of population in England who, if they only knew the intense interest of the work being carried on by the Fund, would subscribe to it. With those few remarks I beg to second the motion for the election of the members of the Executive Committee named.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Dr. H. R. Hall (Chairman, Executive Committee) then gave an address upon the early relations between Egypt and Palestine.

One of the most interesting periods in the history of Palestine is that of the Egyptian conquest and overlordship in the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, from about 1500 B.C. to about 1370 B.C., and its revival under the XIXth Dynasty, from about 1320 B.C. to about 1190 B.C. For about 250 years in all Palestine was more or less a subject province of Egypt, and it is becoming increasingly probable that the Egyptian control, at any rate during the earlier period, was a good deal more closely exercised than has usually been supposed.

Recent discoveries are beginning to make us wonder whether the early Egyptians, before the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, were quite so isolated from their neighbours as used to be thought. The campaign of Sekmem (which Eduard Meyer identifies with Shechem), in which the warrior Khusebek fought in the time of Senusret III, was probably by no means an isolated incident, any more than the journey and exile of Sinuhet or the coming of Abshai and his family to Beni Hasan. Archaeological evidence shows that connexion with Egypt was by no means rare under the XIIth Dynasty. And now under the Old Kingdom we have the remarkable discoveries of M. Montet at Byblos, which have shown us that that Phoenician seaport was already, at the time of the Pyramid-builders, a sort of Egyptian colony, owing allegiance to Egypt, with Egyptian temples of Egyptian gods. This fact is very interesting on account of the traditional connexion of the Osiris legend with Byblos, and explains the fact that 1500 years later, under the XVIIIth Dynasty, the Phoenicians spoke of their ancient subjection and loyalty to Egypt. In fact, the relations of the Delta with the Lebanon coast must have been very close even in

earlier days than those of Seneferu and Khufu. It was the trade in wine and olive-oil, and in timber, none of which could be produced satisfactorily in hot Egypt, that brought the Nile ships to Phoenicia and Phoenician ships to Egypt in the grey dawn of history, when Osiris the Syrian god came from Nysa, the land of corn and wine, of milk and honey, the "Promised land," in fact, to Egypt. On these lines we are likely to hear very much more of interest in the near future, when Syria seems to be shaping out in our minds as one of the original foci of civilization on this planet.

We must modify our idea of the Egyptians as living in almost complete isolation in early days. With Palestine and Syria they were connected, not only by the land route, but also by that of the sea, which was perhaps safer, for there were not always pirates on the "Very Green," whereas the Bedouin robber was always with them. And sea traffic was no uncommon or new thing. It was not only with Phoenicia that trade went on: Crete and Aegean, perhaps even the more distant coasts of Sicily and Italy, sent their mariners to Egypt, and may have seen Egyptian or, at any rate, Phoenician sailors on their coasts, long ere the early classical times to which hitherto we have been disposed to limit their distant maritime activity. And down the Red Sea the Egyptians navigated to Puenet (Somaliland) or further, at least as early as the XIth Dynasty, probably much earlier; and Babylonians came from the mouths of the Two Rivers, round the Arabian coast, and into the Red Sea to the land of Mâgan ("the land where ships went"), perhaps even while the Egyptians were still in the pre-dynastic period, certainly under the Old Kingdom, the days of the patesis of Lagash and of Ur.

In the case of Byblos the Egyptian connexion was one of sovereignty, it is obvious. And this may have been the foundation for later claims over the *hinterland*. As yet no Egyptian king claimed to rule beyond his borders, however. It was aggression from the Syrians, the Hyksos invasion and conquest, that turned the minds of Egypt's rulers to the conquest and domination of Syria and Palestine. I have myself suggested more than once that the Exodus of the Hebrews may be nothing but the same event as the Expulsion of the Hyksos looked at from another angle, the Semitic angle of vision rather than the Egyptian. This view is no new theory, though it has recently attracted no attention until I recorded it in my *Ancient History of the Near East*. It is of respectable

antiquity, and emanated originally from no less a person than Josephus, who knew a great deal about his own countrymen and their history, and also about the history of Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians. It is perhaps the typical view of the man who stands outside the strict national-Jewish fold, of the man who is without preconceived notions on the subject, and dispassionately selects the explanation that seems to him most probable.

As a view it suffers, of course, from difficulties, though the long period it entails for the sojourn in the wilderness is to my mind one of the least of them. And if the invading tribes of the Khabiru, who entered Palestine in the time of trouble and revolt which marked the reign of the heretical King Akhenaton are, as some think, to be identified with the Hebrews entering the Promised Land under Joshua, the period of wandering in the wilderness will correspond with that of the first Egyptian domination in Palestine.

Like the Hyksos, the Hebrews, according to the latest views, left Egypt by the well-known north-eastern gate of the country at Avaris, the later Raämses, called by the Greeks Pelusium, owing to the muddy and marshy nature of its surroundings. And on their march eastward by the coast-road by the sea and the Serbonian bog, the pursuing forces of the Egyptians may well have been overwhelmed in an attempt to cross the marsh, the Sea of Reeds as it is called in the Bible (translated in our version as "Red Sea"). Afterwards we are told the Hebrews did not pursue the usual eastward route to Gaza, the Way of the Philistines, but turned into the desert, southward perhaps to Sinai, if the Sinai of Christian and Moslem tradition which we now call Sinai is in reality the Sinai of the Book of Exodus, which is disputed.

I do not, however, wish now to discuss disputed points, but to give an idea of Palestine as it probably was under the earlier Egyptian domination.

We must think of it as a Palestine without either of the two contending nations which to us, with our familiarity with the Old Testament, seem the most prominent and characteristic of ancient Palestine, viz., the Hebrews and the Philistines. The Hebrews were, according to the Josephan view, in the Wilderness, probably in the mountains of Edom and the desert to the south-eastward. The Philistines had not yet arrived in their ships from the coasts of Kaphtor, the lands and isles of south-east Asia Minor from which they are now considered to have come. They did not come till a

much later period, the beginning of the twelfth century B.C., and their coming marked the end of the Egyptian domination. We are speaking of the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C. The Canaanite was then in the land, the Hivite, the Jebusite, and the other tribes which we know of as conquered by the invading Hebrews. Further north, on the coast were the Phoenicians, then, as they were later, seafarers, traders, and artificers, each city of them on its little island or coast-settlement, ruled by its king. Inland were the Amorites of the Lebanon, and the other Syrians of the inland plain. To the north of them, the Hatti, or Hittites, of Anatolia, were already pressing down southward into Syria, and some of these Anatolians may already have filtered into southern Palestine, where we certainly find them at the close of the earlier Egyptian period and before the entry of the Hebrews. We also find there at that time a most interesting ethnic element, intrusive chiefs and nobles, if not peoples, of Indo-Iranian blood from the land of Mitanni, probably, the land between the Euphrates and Tigris in northern Mesopotamia, the district watered by the river Khabur.

We must distinguish in our minds the Hittites from these Indo-Iranians. Many of us are no doubt aware that quite lately the labours of a Bohemian and of a Swiss cuneiform scholar, Professors Hrozný and Forrer, have revealed the fact that the language of many of the cuneiform tablets discovered by Hugo Winckler at Boghaz-Keui in Anatolia, the site of the ancient Hittite capital, was Indo-European, and West Indo-European at that, being in fact akin to Latin! Further research seems to show that though the syntax of this language and much of its vocabulary is Indo-European, many of its words undoubtedly resembling Latin, yet a very large proportion of its vocabulary is non-Indo-European. In this respect it resembles Greek, which is, properly speaking, as Indo-European in its syntax and general character as Latin, but seems to have in its vocabulary a far greater non-Aryan element, no doubt derived from the pre-Hellenic Bronze Age people whom we call Mycenaeans, Aegeans, or Minoans. The *tout-ensemble* of this Aryan Hittite, however, by no means resembles Greek, and its Aryan element seems closer to Latin, as I have said. The non-Aryan element in it is no doubt derived from the pre-Aryan population of Anatolia, where non-Aryan tongues, also found fragmentarily in Hittite cuneiform, were still spoken at the time of which I speak, and are also being investigated by Dr. Forrer. One of these no doubt,

probably the "Proto-hattic" of Forrer, was the tongue of the national Hittite hieroglyphic or picture-writing of the monuments, which survived till quite a late date, perhaps the ninth century B.C., at Carchemish on the Euphrates, but must, in the nature of things, have been used by the Hittites in Anatolia before they adopted the use of cuneiform from the Babylonians.

The Indo-Iranians of whom I have spoken were a different race from the Hittite Indo-Europeans: they came from the east across the Zagros into Mesopotamia, where some of them, the Kassites, usurped the sovereignty of Babylonia, while others lived in Mitanni alongside another invading race, perhaps of Turkic stock from Central Asia, the Kharri. The princes of Mitanni, who were more or less subject-allies of Egypt at this time, were of this Aryan race, and they worshipped the Indian gods Mitra, Indra, Varuna, and the Aśvins or Nasātya-twins. In South Palestine princes of this race ruled among the Canaanites, who bore such Aryan names as Yazd-dāta and Surya-dāta, "Sun-giver" (like the Greek Heliodotus), Biridiya, Labaya, Namyawaza, and others.

Such was the welter of chiefs and peoples whom the Egyptians found in Palestine: the native Semitic block with its aboriginal pre-Semitic elements akin to the Minoans and other pre-Aryan Mediterraneans, shot through and through with Anatolian West-Aryan, East-Aryan, and even other intrusive elements from the North.

Most of the ancient cities we know in the Hebrew period already existed, Gaza, Joppa, Tyre, Sidon, Aleppo, Carchemish, and the rest, including, of course, Jerusalem itself, then confined to the little tongue-like hill-slope of Ophel. The work of the Palestine Exploration Fund under Messrs. Bliss and Macalister has shown how old are such places as Lachish and Gezer, for instance. We may well hope that in the course of the excavations which Dr. Macalister is about to inaugurate on the Hill of Ophel at Jerusalem he may discover relics of this early period. The native Canaanite civilization was of a high order. We have one proof of this in the list of spoil of gold, of precious garments, and of chariots, which Thotmosis III of Egypt took at the storming of Megiddo about 1478 B.C. There is no doubt that Syria was a highly civilized country in very early times, yet excavation has revealed singularly little of this culture in Palestine. We cannot doubt that the great revolt under Akhenaton was a destroyer of

civilization. The Hebrews, who in all probability then entered the land, had little use for the higher culture of the Canaanites, and it was destroyed, to arise again perhaps for a time in the Israel of the days of Ahab, despite the opposition of the sterner puritans of Judah.

Thotmes or Thotmosis III was the first real Egyptian conqueror. His predecessors of the XVIIIth Dynasty had usually raided Palestine and Syria to glut the wrath of Egypt on the Semites who, as the Hyksos, had invaded and ruled her for so long. Thotmosis set out with the fixed intention of subduing and holding Asia as far as the Euphrates. And after a series of campaigns he succeeded. His son, Amenhotep II, was as much king of Syria and Palestine as of Egypt, and so were his successors, Thotmosis IV and Amenhotep III. And the kings of the Hittites, of Mitanni, of Assyria, and of Babylon sent them gifts, recognizing them as fellow-kings in Asia. The recognition of Egyptian sovereignty west of the Arabian desert is unqualified. Canaan is the Egyptian king's land, its people are his subjects, he is responsible if the caravans of Babylon are attacked by it. Egyptian resident governors and travelling inspectors uphold his authority. Canaanite princes, like a certain Ishtar-washur of Taanach, obey an Egyptian resident as an Indian Rajah does his British mentor to-day. The Canaanite kings receive their unction as anointed kings from their Egyptian overlord. The sons of Canaanite Chiefs are sent to Egypt for their education. Phoenician kings are subjects of Egypt, not mere tributaries. It is not a land simply terrorised by a series of razzias: it is Egyptian territory ruled by Egypt, loosely here, more closely there, but still ruled.

And it was ruled not so much in the interest of the Egyptian king as in that of his god, Amon of Thebes. To the Treasury of Amon the great part of the tribute of Asia flowed, and the effect is seen in the wealth and splendour of Amon and his temples at this time. Amon had conquered the Asiatics, to him mainly belonged their tribute. And we see how when, under Akhenaton, the Aten or Sun-disk had taken the place of Amon as the King's god, the King insistently calls upon the chiefs of Palestine and Phoenicia to send him the tribute of "the Sun," in spite of revolt and invasion.

In the oft-repeated story of this revolt, which we know from the cuneiform tablets found at Amarna and Boghaz-Keui, we can see many indications of the nature of the control exercised or supposed

to be exercised by Egypt over Palestine at the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. We hear of Egyptian commissioners, resident or travelling, some of whom knew the country and some did not; we hear of Egyptian generals, several of whom seem to have been extraordinarily incompetent and were so badly served by their Intelligence staff that they could not distinguish friends from foes, and attacked the former in mistake for the latter. We see native princes, some truly, others falsely, protesting their fidelity to their rightful lord, the Pharaoh. We see Egyptian troops garrisoning such places as Jerusalem, and often acting at cross-purposes with native authorities who honestly desired to remain faithful: thus the black Sudanese troops in garrison at Jerusalem ran amok and murdered some of the inhabitants, to the despair of the loyal local king, Abdi-khiba. The impression given is that of a legal paramount Egyptian authority, largely concerned with the receiving and transmission of the tribute of Amon or the Aten, normally recognized and obeyed, but having of course no real hold on the affections of any of the subject people, except such of their rulers as were bound to Egypt by ties of ancient loyalty, personal friendship, or private interest, so that when revolt and invasion by desert tribes synchronized with Egyptian weakness at home and indecision abroad, the Egyptian dominion collapsed.

We see how this revolt was engineered by the ambition of the Hittite over-king, Suppiluliu or Shubbiluliuma, and how, after Akhenaton had played into his hands by his pacificism, it ended in the establishment of Hittite supremacy (though probably nothing like the old Egyptian sovereignty) in Syria. But not for long was this supremacy undisputed by Egypt, whose kings regarded themselves as the rightful owners of the land. When a young and warlike king, Sety I, ascended the throne about 1320 B.C., it was immediately challenged, and if there was anything more than a vague suzerainty of the Hittites in the south, it was speedily overthrown.

Sety determined to leave very visible monuments of the restored Egyptian authority in Palestine. Some years ago a monument of him was found at Tell esh-Shihāb, east of the Jordan, and now a most important memorial of his re-conquest has been discovered by Mr. Clarence Fisher and the American excavators at Beisan, the ancient Beth-Shean. This is a stele with an inscription, two-thirds of which are unluckily illegible, giving a list of tribes of Palestine

subdued by Sety. We have not seen the actual Egyptian text of this stela, but have the information that it contains besides the names of the Rutennu, or Syrians, the Aamu or Canaanites, and the Sethtiu, Sutu or Bedouins, those—and this is most important—of the tribes called Aperiu and Tuirsha.

Now the Aperiu were long ago identified with the Hebrews, but of late years the identification has been rejected owing to the fact that the Aperiu are mentioned as Egyptian mercenary troops in the eastern Egyptian desert in the time of the XXth dynasty, a century later than the latest date proposed for the Exodus, the reign of Merneptah (about 1225 B.C.). They are first mentioned under Thotmosis III. The identification still seems to me very doubtful, but if they were the Hebrews their presence as a tribe of Palestine in the time of Sety I, nearly a century *before* Merneptah's day, is an argument against the postponement of the Exodus to so late as that king's time, and in favour of some such earlier period as the identification with the Expulsion of the Hyksos would necessitate. The other mentions of them would also accord best with the earlier date. We need not suppose that in that case they were a body of Hebrews who remained in Egypt, though this is of course not impossible. They may have been re-immigrants or prisoners taken in war. If we suppose that they and the Khabiru are identical with the Hebrews, their mention as slaves under Rameses II would point to their having been captured in the wars of Sety I and Rameses after their entry into the Promised Land, while the mercenaries of the XXth dynasty may have been either descendants of these prisoners, or more probably warriors who of their own free will sought service in Egypt. In any case, their occurrence on the monument of Sety I at Bethshean is of the highest interest.

The Tuirsha were a foreign tribe of Mediterranean, probably Asia Minor origin, who haunted the coasts of Palestine and Egypt at this time, and were probably of the same race as the Tyrseni or Etruscans of Italy. These, Herodotus tells us, emigrated from Asia Minor to Italy in the grey dawn of history, a statement corroborated by our knowledge, derived from Egyptian monuments, of these seafaring tribes. They are mentioned with the Shardina, also probably from Asia Minor, who both raided Egypt and served as royal bodyguards there, like the Vikings at Constantinople in far later days. They gave their name to the island of Sardinia, where they finally settled. The first mention of the Tuirsha in Egypt is

also about the time of Sety, when a certain In-Tuirsha, "Pillar of the Tuirsha," settled at the modern Gurob, near the entrance to Fayyūm, where Professor Petrie found his grave and many relics of other foreigners thirty years ago. These Mediterranean tribes had already established settlements on the Palestinian coast, and appeared as warriors among the Canaanites in the land where their relatives the Philistines settled later on.

We have little evidence as to the organization of the Egyptian dominion in Palestine under Sety and Rameses II. Probably the old settled dominion of the XVIIIth dynasty was never fully restored. It was a time of constant war with the Hittites, Syria proper was probably left to the Hittites, and Egypt was content with Palestine, which finally fell away from her as a result of the Philistine invasion eighty years later, in spite of an attempt by Rameses III to restore Egyptian sovereignty. We would give much to know from Egyptian sources how the Israel of the period of the Judges comported itself with regard to the Egyptian domination before the arrival of the Philistines in the land, but we have as yet little evidence on the subject.

Egyptian fortresses existed, such as the citadel of Bethshean, which in later days was held for a century by the Philistines. It commanded the eastern end of the plain of Esdraelon and the crossing of the Jordan, and was always one of the chief strategic points in Palestine. Sety renamed it "the Fort which secureth the faint-hearted," just as Thotmosis III before him had renamed the strong place of Megiddo "Menkheperre is the surrounder of the Asiatics." The Egyptians were wont to give these long names to their fortresses, just as the Assyrians did. The little we can learn points to military domination pure and simple. The Ophel Hill at Jerusalem very possibly was one of these forts. It would certainly be held by the Egyptians as it had been in the days of Akhenaton, when either there, or possibly at Bethshemesh ('Ain-Shems), was Khinatuni, probably an Aten-temple, which the heretic king set up in Asia as he did in Ethiopia. Jerusalem was not yet conquered by the Hebrews, possibly owing to an Egyptian garrison. It was not carried in the first rush of Joshua's invasion and long remained unconquered. The Hebrews were settled in two groups, confined to the hill-country of Mount Ephraim to the north and Judah to the south of Jerusalem, the germs of the two later kingdoms. During the reigns of Sety and Rameses they remained in their hill-

fortresses, leaving the plains to the Canaanites and the passing and re-passing Egyptian armies. Then in the reign of Meneptah they seem to have joined the Canaanites in a revolt, with disastrous consequences: "Israel is desolated, his seed is not," says the Egyptian king in his inscription, an inscription that in itself is a pretty strong argument against the Exodus having taken place in his reign. This is the first mention of the name Israel in a contemporary inscription and its identity is absolutely certain. From the way in which the name is written, with the determinative signs denoting a whole people, women included, it is evident that it was not merely a defeat of the warriors of Israel that took place: the Egyptians must have carried fire and sword through Mount Ephraim and harried Israel in its own home. The recovery must have taken long, and the Philistine domination in the hill-country from the time of Eli (about 1080 B.C.) to that of David again retarded the development of the Hebrews, who did not assume their dominant position in Palestine till the time of David and the taking of Jerusalem from the Canaanites, who had held it inviolate since the days of Egyptian domination. (Applause.)

Dr. E. W. G. Masterman: Ladies and Gentlemen, I will not detain you very long, but I want, in the first instance, to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman for so very kindly taking the Chair this afternoon. He disclaimed his qualification for it, but I am sure you are all satisfied we could not possibly have had a better friend to the Fund and one who could more ably have taken the Chair on this most momentous occasion. (Applause.) I would like to say that though many may practically realise it, it is really only those who have been on the Executive Committee who can know with what an enormous sense of thankfulness and relief we meet this afternoon. At the beginning of this year we had before us the possibility of co-operating in this excavation, and it was manifest to us all that it was an absolutely unique thing; it was a possibility greater than we have ever had before us. It was felt if it slipped through our hands we would not deserve any longer to be called the Palestine Exploration Fund, and England would, I think, have been archaeologically disgraced. We had in hand, as you have heard, £1,000, and the Treasurer was rather reluctant in saying we could afford £1,000. I cannot now go into all the details, but the Schweich Fund of the British Academy came

forward with the promise of another £1,000, and it was rumoured that there might be something else if we could help ourselves. Then came the very splendid offer of Mr. Charles Marston of £2,000 given unconditionally. (Applause.) Then, to crown all, came the very splendid offer by Lord Burnham. I cannot tell you how much we appreciate that offer. (Applause.) He has put it forward in a most generous way; he has disclaimed any desire to control in the least the work of the Fund. He has left the Committee as free as before to make their own appointments and arrangements. He has placed £1,000 in our hands with every possibility of more, and he has also offered what is, you will fully admit, more to us than money—a splendid propaganda through the *Daily Telegraph*. (Applause.) It is quite impossible for us to express how grateful we feel for it, and we only hope that the results of the excavations will be such as to fully justify this enterprise. We feel sure it will be. I feel that you will all watch this work, and you will have opportunities of getting further news about it quicker than you would get ordinarily, because the *Daily Telegraph* is to publish most interesting letters with regard to the work. I have only one word more to say. We have no Treasurer here this afternoon because he had to be in the Channel Islands, but I am perfectly sure that I ought to voice what he would say, and that is this: we must not be content with the amount of money we have in hand; the Society, of which most of you are members or subscribers, has got to rally to this in order that we may be in a position such as friends in the *Daily Telegraph* wish us to be in—a position of greater strength than we have ever been in before. We ought to have far more members than we have. Last year the privilege was open to those, who would subscribe a comparatively small sum, of becoming members and of having a right of sharing in the management, in the election of the Committee, and so on, a privilege which was not available before. Our total members number something like 400, but I do not think we ought to be content with less than 1,000. It is not a large number for a Society of such importance, and I very sincerely hope that, now the excavation we are undertaking is being made known everywhere, the Fund will have further support. I understand that the *Daily Telegraph* are to open a fund, and I hope that will be a fund for what we may call "outsiders"; at the same time I hope there will be a great number who will become regular annual subscribers and

help us not only now but through thick and thin in the years to come.

There is one other point that I think I ought to mention, and that is with regard to co-operation to which reference has already been made. When the proposal was first made to us we anticipated, and in the Committee we spent some time in evolving plans for, co-operation with other societies. I do not think that on the lines we then proposed we are to have now that co-operation, but I am perfectly certain that I speak for Prof. Macalister when I say that we wish for the fullest co-operation of those who will be on the spot, either excavating or watching the work. Baron Rothschild, of Paris, has been doing important work at the southern end of that Hill, and if we could so co-operate that whatever he does is, as I now believe it is, put at our disposal, and Prof. Macalister is able to bring that into use with his own work, we shall be able to double the amount of interest. I hope we shall have co-operation there, and I think I voice the feelings of all present on that matter. We have some friends on the spot who have been very good co-operators in the past, the Dominicans. Père Vincent knows probably more detail about the archaeology of Jerusalem and Palestine generally than almost any living man, and I know from what he has written to me that he is only too anxious to co-operate with us. I feel sure we shall all wish him to do so in the most absolute way, probably not so much in money as in special knowledge and general local help. (Applause.) The work in which all co-operate will be all the more valuable to us.

I do not know that I need say very much about another little matter, because it has already been made plain this afternoon. There has been a little agitation in the Press over the subject of the Tomb of David, and especially in the daily papers. The traditional Tomb of David, which lies on the Western Hill, as I think probably you all know, has nothing in the world to do with the Tomb of David, as we believe it actually lies on Mount Ophel. We are not doing anything that could injure the susceptibilities of any of our ecclesiastical friends who might think that we were interfering with them in their tradition.

I have the greatest pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

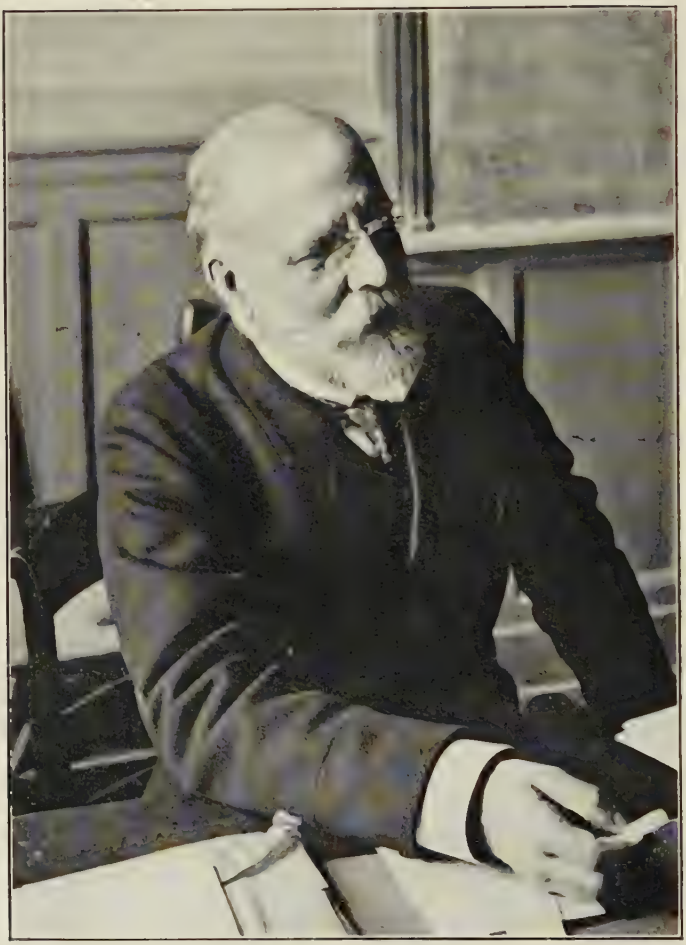
Prof. A. C. Dickie. In rising to second the vote of thanks which has been proposed by Dr. Masterman, I should like, first of

all, to emphasise the sense of satisfaction which we all feel at the result of the negotiations which have been successfully carried out by the officers of the Fund in getting arrangements completed with regard to the excavations at Ophel. The work which Prof. Macalister will have to do will be done under conditions which in the case of previous excavations in Ophel were very different. He will not have to be compelled to modify his wishes at the caprice of some owner, or fancied owner, of a patch of land which grows cabbages, such as we used to have to do in 1897, when an old lady named Latefi used to visit the diggings regularly and stop the work until she obtained "backsheesh" to settle her claim. Nor will he be afflicted by Government, which in the case of the diggings in Ophel, in 1897, one day arrived with a patrol and marched the whole of the workmen away to prison. We must congratulate ourselves very warmly on having secured the services of Prof. Macalister, and I think he must also be congratulated upon entering upon the work under very much better conditions. I now formally second the vote of thanks to the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN, in response to the vote of thanks, said: I am very much obliged to you, and I will not detain you very long, but there was a certain passage in Dr. Macalister's exceedingly able speech, one of the best expositions of the subject I have ever listened to, which was, I think, perhaps almost pessimistic; it almost reminded us of the official declaration in this country of the Battle of Jutland. (Laughter.) It ought to be remembered that when a site has been intentionally destroyed, that is usually considered an excavator's very best chance. In a destruction of that kind things are battered down, an inner floor is made, and the excavator has a chance of finding a great deal of the period embedded in that floor. So that events such as deliberate destruction which has overtaken Jerusalem do not inspire me so much with pessimism as with optimism.

Before we part, we ought to express our thanks to the Society of Antiquaries in whose room we now meet. It is a great boon to be able to meet in such a central position as this, and I am sure we owe the Society our very cordial thanks. (Applause.)

The proceedings then terminated.



M. LE PROFESSEUR CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

THE LATE M. CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

It is with very great regret that the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund heard of the death of their faithful old friend and helper, M. Charles Clermont-Ganneau, Membre de l'Institut and Professor at the Collège de France.

Some account of this distinguished scholar has already been given in *The Times* of March 29th, and by Dr. Cowley in the April issue of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he was an honorary member. To Dr. Cowley we are indebted for the photograph which we are able to reproduce.

A fuller notice by one of his students (Mme. D. le Lasseur) appeared in the *Journal des Débats* for March 14th. To readers of the *Q.S.*, a further account may be acceptable, as his association with the Fund dates from very shortly of the actual inauguration of our Society.

M. Clermont-Ganneau was born in 1846—the birth-year of three great Orientalists: one of whom we hope may long be spared yet—Prof. Sayce; the others being Robertson Smith and Driver. He early distinguished himself in Oriental Studies under Renan, and in 1867 entered the Consulate at Jerusalem. Almost at once he became famous for the part he played in recovering the stele of Mesha, or "Moabite Stone," still the most valuable ancient monument bearing directly upon the Old Testament. His account of the circumstances, published in *The Times* of March 22nd, 1870 (afterwards reprinted in the *Q.S.*), was his first introduction to English readers.

In the following year he discovered one of the tablets set up in Herod's temple at Jerusalem, forbidding strangers to pass the sacred enclosure; it is still, to use his original words, the most ancient and the most interesting Greek inscription Jerusalem has yet produced.

In the *Q.S.*, 1871, p. 160, it was stated that steps were being taken by the Fund to obtain the assistance of M. Clermont-Ganneau. "M. Ganneau has already expressed his willingness to assist us in our work, and is a contributor to our *Q.S.* His assistance will be of the greatest value, since he has become intimately acquainted with the topography of Jerusalem by a long residence there, and has considerable knowledge of the mode of dealing with the people."

Two years later a definite step was taken, and in the report of the Annual General Meeting of 1873 (*Q.S.*, July, p. 119 sq.), it was announced that: "A very important list of probable sites awaiting identification has been laid before the Committee by M. Clermont-Ganneau. M. Ganneau is most anxious to follow up his researches in Palestine, and the great importance of his suggestions has led the Committee to arrange with him to go out again in October in their service, provided that the necessary funds are forthcoming, and that the consent of his Government is obtained, which they trust may be the case."

Clermont-Ganneau's first letter and report (dated Ramleh, November 6th, 1873) was printed in the *Q.S.* of 1874, Jan.; and in 1875 he was made a member of the General Committee. The *entente cordiale*, lasting practically half a century, was never broken, and a steady flow of reports, discoveries and critical notes formed one of the most distinctive features of the *Q.S.* One has only to glance at the index volumes to see his industry and versatility. Discovery after discovery stands to his credit.

Of special interest was the identification of the ancient city of Gezer, based upon a study of Arab accounts of Palestinian geography and history, sources which were then too much neglected. His conclusions were triumphantly confirmed a little later when he actually found a bilingual inscription in Hebrew and Greek marking the boundary. The discovery of Gezer (in 1873), then justly regarded as "an event in Biblical researches," led ultimately to the excavations conducted for the Palestine Exploration Fund by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister (1902–9), remarkable, as is universally recognised, for their many substantial contributions to Biblical and Palestinian studies.

When the Shaphira collection of what Clermont-Ganneau used to refer to as the "Moabite crockery" engaged the archaeological world, he was among the first to recognise them as forgeries. Nor did the Shaphira "Biblical Manuscripts" fare better at his hands, and his detailed letter in *The Times* of August 21st, 1883, was a characteristic illustration of his brilliant methods of testing archaeological "finds." He followed up his letter by a long article, also in *The Times*, on "Genuine and False Inscriptions in Palestine." Both are reprinted in the Fund's *Q.S.*, and are still extremely interesting and informing in view of the perennial activities of oriental forgers of antiquities.

But from time to time "some consoling genuine discovery" comes to hand, and in these words he reported to *The Times* (December 29th, 1883) the discovery by M. Pognon of two inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar from the Lebanons. Later, he took advantage of a stay in this country to write a description of "Antiquities of Palestine in London"; it appeared in *The Times* (both also reprinted in the *Q.S.*), and drew attention to the valuable nucleus then already in existence.

He appeared at a time when Palestinian archaeology was in the making and needed a man with his *flair*. It is no exaggeration to say that he left his stamp upon the field which he made his own, and it is pleasing to reflect that at the next stage, the stage of scientific excavation, it is his own countrymen of the Dominican School at Jerusalem that gave new shape and direction to the intricate studies which he himself had so brilliantly stimulated.

In the *Q.S.*, in letters to *The Times*, *The Athenaeum*, etc., as also in his works published in France, Clermont-Ganneau was remarkable for facility and brilliance and range of learning. His knowledge of the literary sources bearing upon Palestine was probably unique, and there was hardly a subject in Palestinian antiquities which he could not illuminate. Again and again his apparently hazardous conclusions would prove to be correct, or at least put other scholars on the right track.

Sincerely admired by all who knew him, if only by correspondence, and putting others (the present writer included) in his debt by his kindness of heart, he died unexpectedly on Feb. 16th, one of the few survivors of the band of enthusiastic workers who helped to give the pioneer society of Palestine excavation that pre-eminence which it is the task of our contemporaries to maintain, for "there remaineth yet much land to be possessed."

S. A. C.

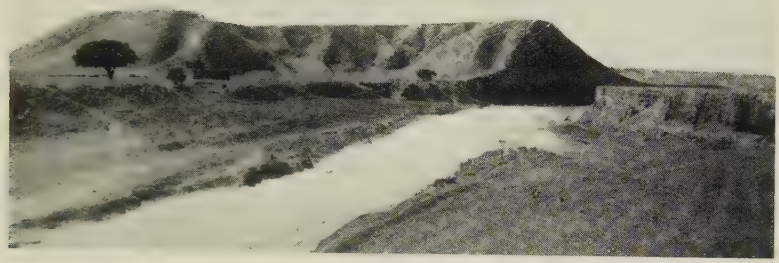
REPORT ON SOUNDINGS AT TELL JEMMEH.[1]

By W. J. Phythian-Adams, M.A., D.S.O., M.C.

Tell Jemmeh lies on the south bank of the Wady Ghuzzeh, about 8 miles south of Gaza and 7 miles from the sea. It forms one of a number of ancient sites which stretch from Tell Ajjul near the coast by Tell el-Fare, Tell es-Seba and Tell el-Milh to Tell Arad, a semi-circle of frontier fortresses interposed between Egypt and Palestine. Such at least is the impression which may be gained from the study of the map; the "frontier" has yet to be examined by excavation. This much however is certain, that sites such as Tell Jemmeh and Tell Fare were deliberately chosen to control the main caravan routes from the Delta to Syria, at the moment when they emerged from the desert into the semi-cultivated expanse of the Negeb. The incident which brought our expedition to an untimely end (*see* below, p. 145) was at least valuable in drawing attention to this aspect of ancient life.

Tell Jemmeh rises prominently among the rolling down country which surrounds it. From the moment when it becomes visible—perhaps three or four miles away—its artificial character is unmistakable. The banks of the Wady Ghuzzeh are for the most part steep and even precipitous, but whereas at this point their summits are almost flat, the Tell displays from all sides a huge rounded hump which is in striking contrast with the level stretches around it. On the north side (Plates Nos. 1 and 2) the face of the mound forms a lofty precipice (about 35 metres high), from which enormous flakes of earth are being detached each year by the rains. At the time of our visit, the most recent debris still cumbered the bed of the Wady, but by next spring there will probably be little evidence of this slow but unceasing decay. A little more than half-way up the cliff two dark bands of earth run horizontally from one side to the other. The uppermost of these bands forms the ancient summit of the Wady bank, for immediately above it may be seen traces of hearths and a few scattered fragments of pottery. The depth of artificial deposit is therefore something like 15 metres, a striking proof of the antiquity of this buried and forgotten site.

[1] Those photographs and sketches (including the pottery Nos. 1, etc.) which have not been reproduced in this report can be seen at the offices of the Fund.



I.—From the North-East.

II.—Northern Bay, showing Section.

The shape of the mound is in itself distinctly odd. It may be compared most aptly to a double axe, and represented roughly thus—

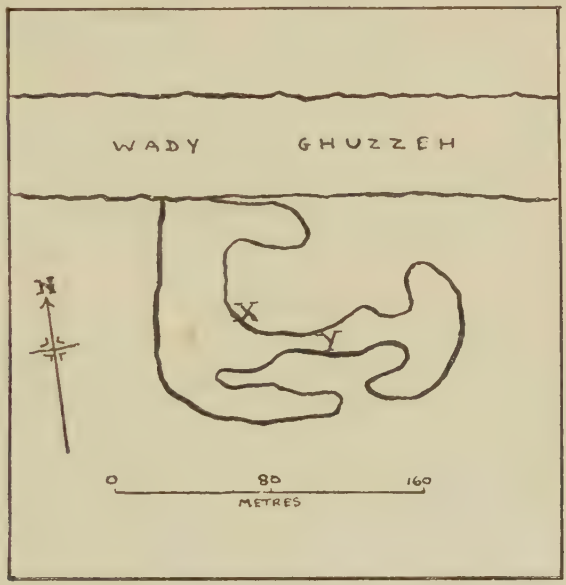


Fig. 1.—Tell Jemmeh: Sketch Plan.

This curious configuration may be observed in Plates I and II, but it will be noticed (in Plate III) that the southern slopes of the Tell are much more rounded and less precipitous than the northern. (The black holes in the centre background are the remains of dug-outs scraped by our troops during the recent campaign.)

A brief examination of the summit and slopes of the mound made during a preliminary reconnaissance from Gaza showed at once that we were to find evidence for all the now well-known periods of Palestinian culture.

(*a*) On the top numerous fragments of black varnished Greek wares (*c.* IVth century B.C.) were to be picked up off the surface of the ground (Nos. 1 and 2; see p. 140 note).

(*b*) Some distance down the slopes, if one followed a particular contour, one could find typical Philistine fragments with the horizontal loop handles and spiral described

in my report on Askalon. (*See* Nos. 3 and 4 from the Section.)

(*c*) Yet further down, pieces of white-slip Cypriote bowls (*see* the Askalon Report) gave evidence of human occupation in the XVth century B.C.

(*d*) Of earlier remains there was necessarily less trace, but the peculiar bowl-rim moulded in the form of a face (No. 9) belongs to the red-slip technique of the Middle or even Early Bronze Age, and our soundings fully confirmed the probability of a settlement in the first half of the second Millennium B.C.

Work was started on the 20th October at the spot marked Y in the sketch plan. It proved to be an unhappy choice for our expedition, which, owing to difficulties of supplies and shortage of waters, required rapid excavation and quick returns. A number of well built stone house walls dating back to the IVth century B.C. revealed themselves whenever we removed the crust, and it became evident that if we were to penetrate into the heart of the mound, it must be done at some other point. Accordingly the spot X was selected and the workmen started afresh. This proved to be excellent for our purpose, and the results can be seen in Fig. 2.

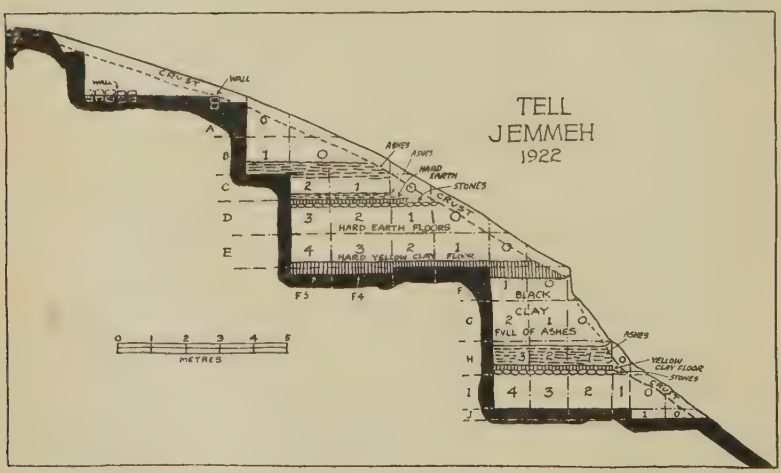


Fig. 2.—The Strata.

III.—Southern Bay, showing Dug-outs.

The trench cut had necessarily to be a narrow one (see Plate IV), but nevertheless the information it yielded may give a very fair impression of the nature of the Tell, even though it had to be abandoned before we touched the virgin sandstone.

It will be noted in the first place with regard to our Section that all the strata represented are horizontal. This fact is important in two ways. It shows that at one time a strong wall must have run round the series of settlements which were built one upon another on the mound. At some points on the inner slopes masonry could still be observed, but for the most part these walls must have been removed in ancient times, and it is significant in this connection that the Roman and Byzantine periods are not represented at Tell Jemmeh while buildings of both are to be found in the vicinity, and notably at Khurbet Umm Jerar. Further evidence for the original existence of these walls may be seen in the black ashy strata which extend downwards from level "F" to level "H." Here it will be observed that the strata "cock up" unmistakably on the *outer* face of the slope, and it is difficult to understand how they could perform this feat if they had not in the first place been deposited against a solid obstacle which has since been cleared away. If this obstacle was not a wall, it is hard to guess what else it could have been.

Working downwards by steps according to the method which has been explained elsewhere we were able by the evening of the 22nd to reach a further stage. Viewed at first glance the pottery fragments discovered seemed singularly devoid of interest, and certainly a much better "haul" could be collected by wandering over the surface of the mound. It was only when the horizontality of the strata forced itself upon one's attention that the true value of the cut became apparent. It was then seen that the location of surface fragments belonging to a particular period on a particular contour of the slope was not by any means accidental: it was due to this very feature in the construction of the mound. As the outer face was gradually washed away, the pottery fragments inside were exposed each in its own stratum, and we were able to assume in consequence that the average depth of the various culture-deposits is practically uniform over the whole of the site.

It has been said that the pottery found in the cut could not be described as exciting, and one could go even further, for without previous experience of Askalon and Gaza it would have been

difficult to distinguish any difference of culture at all. The crust proved to contain fragments of early Hellenistic wares, amongst which may be remarked a base of fine yellow clay (No. 1) painted on the outside with a spiral of rich orange colour and stamped on the inside with small palmettes (IVth century B.C.). Below these, the pebble-burnished wares predominated, but the most usual type of vessel found was the undecorated red amphora with round vertical rim raised about 1 cm. from the shoulder, a type which was perhaps the commonest met with at Gaza. In the undecorated wares the fine quality of the clay was very noticeable; it is of a yellowish-red colour, well levigated, and certainly superior to the normal Gaza fabrics.

Below these pebble-burnished wares the horizontal loop-handled bowl and the handle-less cup of similar type made their appearance (step E4). As usual they were decorated round the rim with a strip of dark red paint. Their forms were normal. The culture, thus briefly surveyed (it is identical with the Philistine culture of Askalon and Gaza), shewed no signs of disappearance until the hard yellow clay floor at the bottom of level "F" had been removed. Even then it was not until we reached level "H" that a few characteristic fragments of white-slip wish-bone handle bowls were discovered. The change of culture could, however, be recognised in the quality and colour of the clay employed (coarse buff instead of red) and in the shapes of the bowls or saucers (wide and shallow instead of rounded and deep). The presence of the white-slip wares confirmed this change and we should therefore place the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age at the level E—F.

We had succeeded in descending 11·2 metres before our operations were cut short, and it is estimated that there are some four or five metres more still waiting to be probed. On this reckoning, which seemed to be corroborated by the evidence of pottery fragments at other points on the slopes of the mound, the occupation of Tell Jemmeh should go back at least to the beginning of the second Millennium B.C. It is greatly to be regretted that owing to "circumstances over which we had no control" we had to cut short our labours when already in sight of their end.

The reason for our sudden departure may be briefly related. The caravan route which passes by Tell Jemmeh on the East and at one point is not more than 100 yards from it, leads from Khan Yunis (and so from El-Arish and Egypt) to Beersheba and the

IV.—Tell Jemmeh, Section showing A—I.

Negeb in general. It appears that this route is to-day extensively used by gentlemen of the smuggling persuasion who derive large profits from the illicit sale of salt among the Bedouins (the sole inhabitants of this region). As their forbears have probably been carrying on the same business since the time of Abraham, it would perhaps be useless to expect them to suspend operations at this time of day; but since their loads are valuable and highly profitable to the Government, if captured *flagrante delicto*, collisions between Authority and its evaders must necessarily occur at intervals. Unfortunately for our expedition an incident of this type *did* occur on the night of the 22/23rd of October with unfortunate results to one of the contrabandists. Its effect was to render our camp (considered in some obscure sense to be representative of Law and Order) an object of extreme distaste to the friends and relatives of the deceased and there was no lack of enthusiasm on [the] part of our workmen when we were advised to withdraw without delay, We accordingly returned to Gaza on the 23rd, taking with us the pottery we had collected but leaving uncompleted both the sectional cut and a compass and tape survey of the Tell which had been begun on the previous day.

The whole incident, as has been suggested, had a value of its own in throwing light on the motives which inspired the foundation of the ancient town. How many caravans must have paid their toll at the Wady under the watchful eyes of the sentinels on the wall! How many feet must have passed over it into Palestine, wearing down its banks with the traffic of innumerable beasts and men, till to-day you must descend to the dry bed through a steep gulley with high precipitous sides! It is just the sort of get-rich-without-trouble existence which would suit the Bedouin sheikhs of the Negeb to-day, if they were strong enough, or had wits enough, to revive it. As it is, Tell Jemmeh has long since resigned its place in the struggle of life. Probably when the Roman Peace imposed upon the country a discipline and a protection not unlike our own, a site so far removed from the amenities of civilisation fell into disuse, never thereafter to be re-occupied. Mills and toll houses grew up at its foot; monasteries and churches used its masonry for their own needs; and high above them all the ancient city slowly decayed, channelled by the short torrential rains of winter, and buried beneath the storms of sand and dust which rage over the countryside during the summer heat.

Only one question now remains to be answered. What was the name of this city in the days of its prosperity? When I wrote before of our proposed visit to this Tell (*P.E.F., Q.S.*, Jan., 1923, p. 12), I suggested its identification with Gerar. That view I now hold more strongly. The ruin called Khurbet Umm Jerar is not more than two miles distant as the crow flies from Tell Jemmeh: it was inhabited in Byzantine, and probably in Roman, times; in other words, it came into existence when the old city had ceased to be inhabited. Now Khurbet Umm Jerar cannot itself be the ancient Gerar, which was flourishing, as we know, in the days of Abraham (*c.* 2000 B.C.); therefore it must have taken its name from the real Gerar somewhere in the neighbourhood. But Tell Jemmeh certainly does go back to the second Millennium B.C., and *almost* as certainly to the very beginning of that millennium, if not before it. Here then we have a city without a name, which flourished in the days of Abraham, and a local name without a city which exactly corresponds to it. The parallel case of Umm Lakis and Lachish (Tell El-Hesy) is too striking to be neglected in this argument. Umm Lakis lies at least three miles from the mound which it robbed of its ancient name,[1] and that, too, in a far more densely populated part of the country than the open and half-desolate Negeb. We may reasonably argue, then, that what could happen in the Shephelah could happen even more easily on the Wady Ghuzzeh. It is true that our investigations have not revealed definite evidence for the identification of Tell Jemmeh, but they have at least shown that we have to deal with a site of very great antiquity and importance, a site which fulfils all the conditions required by Gerar, and above all a site without a name.

[1] I am aware, however, that the equation Lakis = Lachish is not philologically exact.

NOTES ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT BEISAN.

By George J. H. Ovenden.[1]

(*By permission of Mr. Clarence Fisher, the Director.*)

The University Museum of Philadelphia has recently resumed its excavations at Beisan for the season 1923. The work for the first two summers has been confined to the central hill, Tell el-Hosn, and to the cemetery along the northern branch of the River Jalud. The Tell had already been tested by a narrow sectional trench on the east, and various strata have been disclosed, representing periods from that of the Arabs back to 1800 B.C., without the rock surface being reached. A systematic removal of each successive layer was then inaugurated and excavations are now into the period of 700 B.C.

The whole summit of the hill with its east, north, and west terraces was enclosed in early Arab times by a finely-built wall 5 feet thick, with the only entrance at the north-west corner, the one easily accessible point. Although the walls of this town have been used as quarries for the modern town for many years, some idea of the system of streets and house plans can be seen.

This stratum was built immediately over the upper Byzantine town and the walls roughly followed the contour of the preceding town. In many cases the house floors are re-used in the Arab houses and most of the fine Byzantine pavements and mosaics have therefore suffered severely. Below the Arab Gate are the remains of the Byzantine entrance, and from this a well-paved roadway winds up the north and west terraces to a large church on the summit. The church had been built originally in the 4th century on a regular basilica plan and had been burned during the Christian riots under Julian. Later, it was rebuilt with a large rotunda inserted between the remains of the narthex and apse, which were incorporated in the new scheme. Both buildings had been handsomely redecorated with marble mosaic floors and glass mosaic on the walls. The

[1] [Mr. Ovenden, the Assistant Secretary of the Fund, has been given a year's leave of absence to work as a Secretary for Mr. C. S. Fisher.]

rotunda had an inner room of green and white marble columns, with white bases and capitals. The East Church was in ruins before the year 170 A.H., as a Cufic inscription of that date, written on a fallen column, indicates.

In building up the platform for the church a number of early drums and architectural ornaments, clearly from a great Roman building, and bits of a gigantic marble statue of the same period, made it appear probable that beneath the Byzantine level would be found a Roman structure. But when the foundations of the church were removed a large structure with regular chambers and passages and a staircase was revealed. This was built of huge mud bricks, and its walls and floor were covered with a hard stucco. Pottery found in the various chambers include heavy zîrs of brown ware, smaller jugs partly red polished—all approximately of the 7th to 8th century B.C. With these were a few fragments of decorated Cypriote ware of somewhat older date. The walls are well preserved and had been cut through only by the foundation wall of the circular church. As yet no trace has appeared of any destruction such as the massive footing of a Roman temple would have caused. As soon as this interesting building has been cleared it will be removed in order to see to what period the next preceding stratum belongs.

Alternating with work in the main hill, the northern cemetery is being cleared strip by strip. In the first area cleared last season some 130 tombs were found, ranging in date from cave-type chambers with ledge handled pottery to the Roman and Byzantine graves with the usual fine glass, of this a large collection has already been found. Of particular interest was a small group of tombs with terra-cotta sarcophagi with grotesque human faces on the covers. From the pottery and other objects found with them they can be dated tentatively to about 1000 B.C. They have bronze weapons, quantities of saucer lamps, and in one jewellery showing distinctly Egyptian influence. The identification of this group offers many attractions, and it is to be hoped that the continuation of the cemetery this season will produce additional evidence in regard to them.

Dr. Fisher's efforts have recently been rewarded by the discovery of two more Egyptian stelae, within a few metres of that which was discovered last year.

The first, set up by Seti I, is dated at the time of his first campaign into Palestine and alludes to the operations of three

named divisions of his army. It mentions such place names as Beisan, Pella, Hamath in Zobah, Rehob and Yenoam.

The second stele is of Rameses II and dated in his ninth year, and mentions various Semitic tribes.

The decipherment of both these important inscriptions by Mr. A. Rowe, a member of the Expedition, is not yet completed.

Both stelae, which are of basalt, are in excellent condition, although that of Seti I is fractured across in two places, and that of Rameses II also split. They were found overthrown, but with their pedestal stones, and were evidently erected side by side.

[*Editorial Note.*—In the American *Outlook* Mr. William A. McGarry, under the title "In the Valley of Jezreel," quotes from Dr. Fisher's report of his excavations at Beth-Shean. The stele of the Egyptian king Seti I—the most important of the discoveries—is said to have been set up in the first year of his reign. Mr. McGarry includes a paragraph which is of such extreme interest that we reproduce it, in spite of certain misprints.]

> "There has always been some question of the various tribal names of the people inhabiting Palestine and Syria in ancient times. The stele gives several tribal names that may be identified. The Sethtiu are perhaps the Suti, mentioned in the El-Amarna correspondence carried on between Syria and Egypt fifty years earlier during the reign of Akhaton [Akhnaton, Ikhnaton]. The Retennu are the Syrians and the Aamu a nomadic tribe from the eastern desert. The Aperei may be the Rhabiu (?), some of whom are stated by Rameses, the son of Sety, as being in captivity in Egypt. The context here implies that they were in possession of the citadel of Beth-Shean at the time of Sety's expedition. With them are associated, presumably as confederates, the Tuir——. The latter part of the name is unfortunately obliterated, but they can be identified with the Ryrsenians [Tyrsenians], ancestors of the Etruscans. Hitherto the earliest mention of them is during the reign of Merneptah, grandson of Sety, nearly ninety years later. Of special interest is the fact that the stele contains the name given the citadel of Beth-Shean by the Egyptian conquerors—'The Hill which secureth the faint hearted.' The same idea is found in the Hebrew Beth-Shean—Hill of Security, surviving in the modern Beisan" (*see* Dr. Hall, p. 130 *sq.* above).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Capharnaüm et ses ruines. By P. Gaudence Orfali, O.P.M., Docteur en Théologie. Paris: Auguste Picard, 82, Rue Bonaparte. 1922.

This beautifully printed and illustrated monograph upon Tell Hum and its ruined synagogue is the work of one who has made this charming but insalubrious spot his home for many years. To him every stone is a treasure with a tale to tell of its origin and position in the original building. All the finest sculptured fragments are illustrated here, and the reader will soon realize that the results of the excavations have been considered with the minutest attention. The most elaborate diggings were done by Professors Kohl and Watzinger, on behalf of the *Deutschen Orient-Gesellshaft* in 1905, but the good Fathers have made many discoveries since, as is here described.

P. Orfali disclaims to be any special authority on the topographical question of the identity of Tell Hum with Capernaum, but it is clear that he considers the ruins in and around the synagogue—extending one kilometre along the lake shore and 400 metres inland—are really the strongest proof. It would seem quite impossible in view of this further evidence to doubt that here we have the real side of Capernaum.

In the first chapter the author has gathered together the scanty references to Capernaum after N.T. times. He thinks the sudden and early downfall of this once flourishing city may have been due partly to earthquakes and partly to the rise of its favoured rival Tiberias. He also suggests that the inhabitants were particularly wicked, but this is, to say the least, doubtful. But he does show that we have no evidence that the city continued to flourish after the first century of our era. In later chapters the results of the excavations are described in detail. By means of photographs, plans, and suggested reconstructions the non-technical reader can obtain a very good idea of the former magnificence of this great white marble synagogue. It is one of the many ancient synagogues of Galilee, constructed on the same general plan, but both in the material employed and in the magnificence of the carving this synagogue is the finest and may well have been the model upon

which the others were built. There is an interesting discussion on the emblems and decorations of the walls, some of which recall the Herodian Jewish coinage.

The critical point to which we are led is—was this synagogue the actual one referred to several times in the Gospels in which Our Lord preached? Kitchener, who first examined the ancient synagogues of Galilee half-a-century ago, gave grounds for dating them to the end of the second or beginning of the third Christian century, and Professors Kohl and Watzinger ascribe them, on architectural grounds alone, to much the same period. P. Orfali will have none of this. He thinks that whatever may be architecturally probable with regard to so late a date is impossible on historical grounds. It is perhaps better to give the author's conclusion in his own words :—

> "Nous maintenons que l'origine de la synagogue de Capharnaüm remonte au I^er^ siècle de notre ère, abstraction faite de modifications structurales postérieures. Assigner à sa construction la fin du II^e^ siècle ou le commencement du III^e^ nous paraît impossible ; car en dehors des difficultés historiques déjà signalées, cette hypothèse nous met en face de problèmes dont on trouvera très difficilement une solution satisfaisante. Comment, au temps où l'académie rabbinique commandait en maîtresse surtout en Galilée, la synagogue de Capharnaüm, au lieu d'être bâtie au point dominant de la ville, aurait-elle été édifiée à une petite distance de la rive du lac, contrairement aux prescriptions sévères des Rabbins de Tibériade, alors qu'ils condamnaient à la destruction la ville dont les toits dépassaient la synagogue ? En outre, serait-il admissible que du temps où les Rabbins de Tibériade décrétaient l'orientation des synagogues vers Jérusalem, à Capharnaüm on eût l'audace de faire tout à fait le contraire ? Enfin, tout en admettant que la synagogue fût bâtie et orientée contrairement aux principes dictés par l'école rabbinique de Tibériade, serait-il admissible que celle même synagogue fût ornée avec profusion de figures d'animaux, interdites par la loi de Moïse et la casuistique des Rabbins d'Israël, adoptés à cette époque du Pharisaïsme à outrance ? La synagogue de Capharnaüm n'a donc pu être édifiée qu'au commencement du I^er^ siècle."

Although the synagogue discussion occupies the greater part of the book, there is an interesting account of an octagonal building,

the ruined foundations of which have been uncovered, revealing some large fragments of multi-coloured mosaics. The excavators believe the building to be a fourth century Baptistry.

E. W. G. M.

Jérusalem. Tome Second. Jérusalem Nouvelle. Fascicule III, par Les P.P. Hughes Vincent et F. M. Abel. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 60, Rue Bonaparte. 1922.

This new section of this monumental work includes Chapters XVI to XXVI upon the minor ecclesiastical buildings of Jerusalem. The historical and traditional material is dealt with chiefly by P. Abel, the archaeological and architectural by P. Vincent. The volume begins with a very detailed description of the ecclesiastical buildings upon "Mount Zion," chiefly those included by the Moslems under the name of *En Nebi Daoud*. Of these the Coenaculum or Chamber of the Last Supper is most familiar to tourists, though the building by the Germans, a few years before the war, of the great "Church of the Virgin" on the one known as the Dormitio Sanctae Mariae drew new attention to this traditional site. Near to these buildings is the "House of Caiaphas" in the Armenian monastery outside the walls; and on lower ground to the south-east lie the comparatively recent excavations of the Assumptionist Fathers around the remains of the Church of Saint Peter in Gallicantu. The work of the late Father Germer-Durand is very fully described and illustrated by detailed plans. In the Armenian quarter within the walls lies the so-called "House of Annas," known as the *Deir ez Zeitun*. This, with the "Chapel of the Scourging" and the "Prison of Christ," is fully described. Two chapters are devoted to the remarkable Church of St. James at the Armenian Patriarchate. There is a section devoted to the "Pretorium" and certain small chapels connected with the Passion. Of peculiar interest is the full historical discussion on the Via Dolorosa. A full description of the Church of St. John the Baptist, briefly described by Prof. Dickie in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1899, as the Lower Church of St. John, concludes the volume. This brief outline of the contents of this most important work can give no idea of its thoroughness and of the wealth of detail both in the letterpress and in the illustrations. A supplementary volume with 22 sheets of plans is supplied.

This is a continuation of a work on Jerusalem which is truly monumental, covering all known history and all known antiquities.

We are sure that these learned Fathers will be the first to wish that the forthcoming work on the "Ophel" hill will reveal so much of early Jerusalem as to put their first volume out of date! The present volume is, one would suppose, the last word on traditions and buildings about which we cannot expect to learn much more. All Palestine students must remain debtors to such writers as Father Vincent and Father Abel, who deal with every subject they take up in a spirit so scientific and so exhaustive.

E. W. G. M.

The Handbook of Palestine. Edited by H. C. Luke and E. Keith-Roach, with an introduction by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel, G.B.E. London: Macmillan & Co. 1922. 12*s.* net.

This most timely volume gives in just under 300 pages the information which is needed by the public. In addition to the latest information for tourists it gives a condensed account of the system of administration in Palestine, with statistics relating to the commercial, industrial, and other public activities. Each section has been revised by one with special knowledge of the subject—the well-known names of a score of such are mentioned in the preface—and a high degree of accuracy has been attained. Some of the chapters are of permanent value. Thus the section on "Christian and Moslem Architecture" is a most valuable summary, as is that on Agriculture and Forestry, though one misses in the latter any reference to the pine which when once started grows so well on the western hill slopes. An original feature is the chapter on "Postage Stamps of Palestine and Transjordania, 1918–1922." The railway service in Palestine now consists of 353 miles of double track on the broad or Standard gauge and 129 miles on the narrow (3 ft. 6 ins.) gauge. There are also some 200 miles of the old Hejaz (narrow) gauge line east of the Jordan under the Palestine Railway Administration. In the Natural History Section we miss the crocodile as one of the animals of Palestine, unless the writers conclude that it is now at last extinct. The mole-rat, which is so ubiquitous, deserves a mention, and also the famous hyrax so common among the rocks around the Dead Sea. It is news to many that "a hyrax-like animal (*Procavia Schnitzi*) is found in the mountains surrounding Lake Huleh." Is it correct to state that the wolf is "still far from rare"? Stray wolves occasionally follow flocks down from the highlands of Anatolia,

but the wolf is not now an indigenous animal in Palestine. In a work so carefully prepared mistakes are uncommon, but the statement (p. 4) that the source of the Jordan at Banias is 3,000 feet above sea-level is certainly incorrect. Jebel Safed is not, as a passage (p. 235) implies, "an important mass of basalt." And on p. 100 there is a misprint of "north" for "south" in referring to the position of Jericho in New Testament times.

These very minor criticisms are hardly worth considering, however, in view of the great value of the Handbook, which, besides being a book of daily reference to all those living in the land, should have a wide circulation among the great numbers of those whose studies in the Palestine of history should make them interested in all that is going on in this land which in so short a time has already made such strides in development.

E. W. G. M.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Mr. Pilcher kindly sends us for publication the following letter which he has received from Dr. Büchler (Jews' College), dated May 8.

"In connection with your reference to Jewish seals in Palestine in the first century, in the *Q.S.*, April, p. 97, I beg to draw your attention to two Rabbinic statements of that period. In Tosefta 'Abodah Zarah, Chapter V, 2 (ed. Zuckermandl, p. 468, line 13), Rabbi Ḥananiah ben Gamaliel says: Those of my father's house used to seal with a signet having a *prosōpon* (face). R. Eleazar ben Ṣadok said: Any *prosōpon* was used in Jerusalem [before A.D. 70] except that of man. Compare the parallel in the Jerusalem Talmud 'Abodah Zarah, III, 42*c*, line 68, where the name R. Eleazar ben R. Simeon is a mistake, as various other reports about life and conditions in Jerusalem before A.D. 70 are due to R. Eleazar ben R. Ṣadok, who lived between 40 and 70. *See also* S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archaeologie*, Volume I, pp. 201 and 661. It is difficult to say whether those seals were anepigraphic."

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Since the publication of the July issue of the *Quarterly Statement* active steps have been taken in the preparation of the "Joint Expedition of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the *Daily Telegraph*." Prof. R. A. S. Macalister reached Jerusalem early in September, and the same day went to Ophel and selected a site for beginning the excavation, namely, a large field on the ridge-summit, more or less vertically above the Virgin's Fountain. A small area to the left of it has also been applied for, so that the nature of the Tyropoeon debris can be tested. Incidentally it may be added that it was necessary to remove the suspicions of some natives of Siloam that there were designs upon the Haram, which is actually some 200 metres distant! These entirely groundless fears were of course removed, but the incident is an indication of the sort of difficulty that now and then besets the scientific excavator. Prof. Macalister writes that he hopes to obtain the services of his old tried foreman Yusuf; meanwhile, he is making the necessary arrangements for the hiring of labour, the collecting of excavating implements, and the like.

Prof. Macalister's extremely illuminating series of articles on the history of Jerusalem appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* during the latter part of June (21st, 22nd, 25th, 29th), and the beginning of July. Reports of his progress will be published there from time to time, and the first of them was already sent off from Jerusalem

about the middle of September. The proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph*, it will be remembered, announced (June 21st) that "The entire direction of the excavations will remain in the hands of the Fund, and it has been decided that reports of the progress of the work published in the *Daily Telegraph* shall be at the service of any other newspaper, free of cost" (see *Q.S.*, July, p. 103). Through the press and through the quarterly reports, therefore, the public will be kept informed of the work as we proceed, and we must refer our readers back to the July issue, and especially to the account of the Annual General Meeting, for a statement of what we hope to achieve through the excavation of the famous site.

In view of the wide diffusion of the news of this new and important undertaking the Committee confidently hope that donations and fresh annual subscriptions will flow in. Prof. Macalister, who is being assisted by the Rev. J. G. Duncan, will be the better able to undertake the excavation exhaustively if we have adequate funds behind us and are ready for any emergency.

It would be a great misfortune if supporters of the Fund imagined that because we have now the guaranteed minimum of £5,000, they can afford to relax their efforts to get together more money. The £1,000 guaranteed from the P.E.F.'s general funds practically exhausts every penny of our reserve fund, leaving us nothing for publication of the results, or for any emergency. If possible, this fund should not be touched at all. Further, the work cannot possibly be brought to completion, or anything approaching completion, for £5,000. Professor Garstang has put the needed sum at £15,000, but this is, we believe, an under-estimate. We would remind any possible new subscribers that a donation of five guineas followed by an annual subscription of one guinea, qualifies for *Membership*, and that the payment of twenty-five guineas qualifies for *Life Membership*.

A list of special donations will be found on p. 161.

Considerable interest has been taken in the announcement made in the last issue, of the "Joint Expedition of the Palestine

Exploration Fund and the *Daily Telegraph*," and we print below some of the letters we have received:—

Fulham Palace, S.W. 6.
July 17*th*, 1923.

Dear Dr. Masterman,

Thank you for your letter and the current number of the "Palestine Exploration Fund."

I am most interested to hear of the prospective excavation of the site of the City of David, which I sincerely hope it may be possible to carry out.

I am delighted to know that my friend Lord Burnham has come forward so generously to help the scheme in such a practical manner. Naturally with the change of regime one has always much hoped that further excavations might be attempted.

Most heartily do I wish all possible success to the work of the Expedition.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) A. F. Londin.

31, Cleveland Square,
Hyde Park, W. 2.
23*rd July*, 1923.

Dear Dr. Masterman,

I am indeed glad to know that, the preliminary difficulties having been overcome, the Palestine Exploration Fund is now able to participate in the excavation of the historic site of Mount Ophel.

The Palestine Administration is deeply interested in this undertaking, and will use its best efforts to promote its success.

Within the boundaries of this site were once included edifices and tombs, of which even the vestiges would be of the deepest interest to mankind.

Whether such vestiges will or will not be discovered no one can foretell, but it is certain that the attempt should at least be made.

The Palestine Exploration Fund, and those who are associated with it, are engaging in a fascinating task, as well as fulfilling a plain duty to archaeology.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) Herbert Samuel.

Lambeth Palace, S.E. 1.
August 2nd, 1923.

Dear Dr. Masterman,

Most cordially do I wish God-speed to the new endeavour which is being made in and around Jerusalem to throw light by further excavation upon the Old Testament story. I remember being impressed many years ago when resident for a time in Jerusalem with the possibilities which might attend deeper research than was then possible in the Hill of Ophel. Opportunities are now ours which were non-existent in those days, and beyond question we ought to use them.

I am,
Yours very truly,
(Signed) RANDALL CANTUAR.

We regret to have to announce the death of two good friends of the Fund. Dr. David Watt Torrance, who died at Tiberias on August 25th, was a well-known member of the Scottish Mission, whose life-work, as told by himself in *A Galilee Doctor* (Hodder and Stoughton), was a veritable romance. Dr. Gaskoin Wright, who died at Metheringham on Sept. 11th, worked for thirty years under the C.M.S. at Nâblus, and endeared himself to many by his warm and untiring hospitality.

Our Assistant Secretary, Mr. George J. H. Ovenden, has been able to send us further notes on the excavations at Beisan, by permission of Dr. Clarence Fisher, the American Director. Two photographs of the Tell and of the Egyptian area accompany the letter. Mr. Ovenden says:

> "The Expedition of the University Museum of Philadelphia concluded a most interesting season's work by the end of August. Since our notes in the April *Q.S.* the decipherment of the Rameses II stela has been completed. Though not perhaps the equal of the Seti stone in geographical interest and the quality of the workmanship, it yet turns out to be of considerably more importance than was at first supposed. Most of its twenty-four lines of text are taken up with laudatory phrases, but in one line mention is made that Rameses used Semites in the building of his name-city in the Delta, which, it is believed, definitely establishes him as the Pharaoh of the Oppression.

"On the last day of the work this remarkable series of Egyptian finds was further added to by the discovery of a life-size statue of Rameses III, within a few metres of the stelae. It is of basalt, rather crude local work, and, except for the cartouche of the king on either shoulder, is uninscribed.

"The building in which these monuments were found is a fortress, constructed of large sun-dried clay bricks. It consists of a series of small chambers and long corridors surrounding open courts; the existing walls standing in some places three metres high, and being plastered over with a mixture of mud and lime. The floors, with an underbed of rubble, were overlaid with a thick coating of cement. The main entrance, near the N.W. corner of the building, has the great sill and portions of two jambs *in situ*. The stone is basalt, carefully fitted and dovetailed into the brick masonry of the main walls.

"A large area of this fortress was destroyed by fire, and, as some of the pottery found there belongs to as late as 1000 B.C., it is temptingly suggested that the whole place may have been destroyed by David after the catastrophe of Saul.

"After this it appears that the site remained more or less desolate for a very long time, as only a comparatively small layer of insignificant mud brick walls intervenes between the Egyptian and the Classical levels. This is assigned to the Scythians.

"The classical building referred to in the April *Q. S.* appears to have been first commenced in the Seleucidan period, and not completed until the Roman times. From fragments of a frieze bearing the garlanded head of Bacchus, it is believed to have been dedicated to that god. The finding of terra-cotta figurines of Bacchus being nursed by Nymphs in the cemetery last season also points to this.

"An old well on the summit, which has been cleared out to a depth of thirteen metres below the Egyptian level, revealing in its sides successive layers of mud brick and rubble walls, and not yet reaching the rock, gives promise that the whole excavation of the Tell, when completed, will furnish a complete series of periods down to the Neolithic."

The Rev. C. C. McCown, Professor of New Testament Literature, Berkeley, California, draws our attention to an error in Vol. III of the *Survey of Western Palestine*. On p. 150 a picture is shown as the tomb of Samuel. It is really the tomb of Samet at the village of Sar'a, which is described on p. 158, and is mentioned in various places in the same volume. How little it has changed in the last forty years is shown by a photograph which he kindly sends us and which he took in November, 1920, when he was in Palestine as a member of the American School of Oriental Research. The view was taken from almost the same spot as that shown in the memoir.

The attention of subscribers is respectfully called to the following request. Money Orders, especially those for small amounts, should in future be made payable to the P.O., "W.1," the postal district in which the Office of the Fund is situated. Those marked G.P.O. must be taken to the General Post Office, which is a considerable distance away, and time and money are consumed in cashing them. The co-operation of subscribers in this matter would be very highly appreciated.

Subscribers will recollect that the map of the Negeb or Wilderness of Zin, which should have accompanied the 1914–15 Annual, had then to be withheld from publication owing to the War. The Committee are glad to announce that the map has now been prepared for the Fund by the War Office, and a copy will be supplied gratis to those Members desirous of procuring it to complete their record of the 1914 Survey. Applications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

Photo-relief map of Palestine: This popular little map, which is reproduced by collotype process from the well-known raised maps, has been reprinted and is now on sale. It measures (with margin) 29 × 19 inches and contains some hundreds of Biblical names. The price to subscribers is 2*s.* 6*d.*, and to non-subscribers 3*s.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 162, 163.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special donations towards the excavation of the City of David:—

Donations to Ophel.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Mrs. Cossar	0	10	0
Rev. W. Ross, B.D.	1	0	0
V. A. Williamson, Esq., C.M.G. ...	10	0	0
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Richard Cadbury, Esq.	25	0	0
„ „ (*Life Member*) ...	25	0	0

Donation to General Funds.

George Bell, Esq.	10	0	0

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have also to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Near East, July 26th : Excavations at Carthage, by Dr. L. Carton.

The Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism, by H. M. Wiener, LL.B.

The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology, by Rev. J. S. Griffith, with a foreword by the Dean of Canterbury.

The Expository Times.

The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, April.

American Journal of Archaeology, 1923, 2 : A terra-cotta relief from Sardes, by T. L. Shear. (Interesting traces of Mesopotamian influence.)

Palestine.

The Zionist Review.

Homiletic Review.

American Journal of Philology.

The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, vols. ii and iii (1921–22), edited by W. J. Moulton. 1923.

Bulletins of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Nos. 9 and 10.

Art and Archaeology.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, xlii, 1, 2. A pharmacological note on Ps. lviii, 9, by D. I. Macht ; Nabonidus in Africa, by R. P. Dourgherty.

Journal Asiatique, Jan.–March, 1923 ; also the Index from 1913 22.

Société Asiatique : Les fêtes du centenaire (1922).

Biblica, Vol. IV, 2. Wine in the Bible and the Talmud, by Prof. J. Döller ; bibliographies ; the excavations at Beisan, by Father A Mallon.

L'Unité dans le Christ, by Michel d'Herbigny, Roma.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung : Monatsschrift für die Wissenschaft vom ganzen Orient : edited by Prof. W. Wreszinski, with the co-operation of Prof. G. Bergsträsser, Dr. Hans Ehelolf, and Prof. A. v. le Coq.

Palästinajahrbuch, 1922–23 : Galilee, by Dr. Dalman ; a Greek inscription from Bethlehem, by the same. Gibeah of Saul, S. Linder ; the excavations at Tell el-Ful, Prof. Albright ; a Jewish gravestone from Joppa, Dr. A. Alt.

Bible Lands, July, 1923. Jerusalem (a paper) : Beduins and their camels in the Desert ; The temple of the moon at Ur of the Chaldees, etc.

Selections of a Commentary on the Pentateuch, by Rabbi Raphael Mordecai Malki (XVIIth cent.), i; Essays on Palestine History, by Elieser Rivlin, Jerusalem. 5*s*.

The Palestine Weekly, June 15th: Dr. Torrance of Tiberias; June 22nd: Our northern frontier; Palestinian Wakfs; [Reprints of Prof. Macalister's articles to the *Daily Telegraph*].

Al-Mashrīq. Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ.

From the Author:

The Origin of the Gospel according to St. John. By the Rev. Prof. J. A. Montgomery, University of Pennsylvania. Winston Co., Philadelphia, 1923. 50 cents.

The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology. By the Rev. J. S. Griffiths.

"Le Prime Relazioni della S. Sede con la Cina per Opera de' Frati Minori e l' Itinerario Orientale di Fr. Giovanni de' Marignolli di Firenze (1338–53)." Testo e note del P. Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M.

"Itinerarium Cuiusdam Anglici Terram Sanctam et alia Loca Sancta visitantis (1344–45)." By P. Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M.

Both presented by the Author through Rev. Andrew Egan.

From Mrs. Conder:

"Quarterly Statements," 1867–1922, including all Colonel Conder's carefully annotated copies.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener.*

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE EXPLORATION OF EN-ROGEL, OR JOB'S WELL.

By Rev. G. Dalton.[1]

Some fifteen years ago (*i.e.*, 1847) peculiar circumstances led me to visit Jerusalem for the third time. . . Towards the close of my first summer out there an opportunity presented itself for an exploration in the valley of the Kedron. It happened to be a season of great drought, so that naturally water had a very prominent place in the conversation of its inhabitants. The only supply that seemed to hold out, and partially to meet the wants of the city, was that which was drawn from Job's Well.

Situated at the junction of the valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat is this, the "En-Rogel" of the Old Testament, known by the modern name of Nehemiah's or Job's Well — in Arabic, Beer-Ayub. It formed a boundary point between the division of Judah and that of Benjamin (Josh. xv, 7). Here it was that Jonathan and Ahimaaz stayed until they were enabled to bring tidings to David that Ahithophel's counsel had been defeated (2 Sam. xvii, 17). Here also was it that on a great stone beside the well, Adonijah slew sheep and oxen to feast his fellow-conspirators (1 Kings i, 9). It being a place where people were wont to assemble on festive occasions, they could, without exciting suspicion, meet to carry out their lawless plans.

[1] This article is reprinted, with certain omissions, from one which appeared in the "Sunday at Home" in 1863. In giving permission to reprint the article, the Editor very kindly also supplied the name of the writer, which had not been given in the original publication. This considerably adds to the interest, as the Rev. G. Dalton was the son of a Dr. Dalton who went to Jerusalem as a Medical Missionary early in the last century, and died there in 1828. We wish we could get more articles belonging to these early days. We are indebted for this article to Miss Carter, of Hove, who wrote to Professor R. A. S. Macalister about it, and afterwards kindly lent us the bound volume. We believe this account of the descent of Bir Eyyub has never been quoted in any of the publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and that it is one of great value to all those who are interested in Jerusalem.

The origin of this well, or why and when it was called "Job's Well," is a mystery, as we can hardly suppose the patriarch of Uz ever passed by or drank water out of it. Dr. Bonar says: "I suspect that it is a Mahommedan, not a Jewish or Christian, name, and that it goes back to the time of Salah-ed-din, or the close of the XIIth century, when this mighty prince occupied the throne of Jerusalem. Saladin was well known as a provider of fountains, and there is nothing unlikely in his giving his father's name—the name of the great Eyubite family—to a well at Jerusalem. Very probably he found a well here, or at least a cistern, which he deepened and enlarged." ("Land of Promise," p. 160.) This corresponds with the following statement of Professor Robinson, in the "Biblical Researches," Vol. I, p. 492 who writes that Mejr-ed-din describes it as built up with very large stones, having in its lower part a grotto or chamber walled up in like manner, from which he states the water strictly issues; and that, in a season of drought, the Mahommedans had sunk this well to a greater depth. It is supposed to have been filled up, and consequently unknown to the Crusaders; but it is stated by Hugo Plagon to have been discovered and cleared out with great advantage in the year 1184. Nearly every writer on the Holy City has upheld the idea of this well being an opening down into running water, and that the brook "Kedron" now pursues its course underground.

Let us glance at some of the Bible references to this brook. "The king also himself passed over the brook Kidron." "David went up the ascent of Olivet, and wept as he went up," fleeing from rebellious Absalom (2 Sam. xv, 23, 30). Ten centuries afterwards, David's Lord—the true David—"went forth with His disciples over the brook Cedron" (John xviii, 1); and there "being in an agony He prayed more earnestly" (Luke xxii, 44). Here Josiah perfected the first reformation, unfinished 330 years before, when "Asa destroyed her idol (Maachah's) and burnt it by the brook Kidron" (1 Kings xxiii, 20). Josiah, we read, "brought out the grove from the house of the Lord, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Kidron, and burned it at the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people" (2 Kings xxiii, 6). It would appear from this last text, compared with the action of Moses under similar circumstances (*see* Exod. xxxii,

20), that, ordinarily speaking, the Kedron was not a running stream of water, and that, lacking water, Josiah cast the powder upon the graves, then and now plentiful in that vale.

This idea gathers confirmation from the etymology of the word used for brook. In the Old Testament it signifies equally a perennial stream or an intermittent torrent. In the New Testament the expression selected by John proves that in those days it was what it now is, a *winter torrent.*

Notwithstanding all this, as we said before, traveller after traveller and men of research fostered the idea that, not being any longer visible above ground northwards of Beer-Ayub, whereas at times in the rainy season water is seen flowing down southwards from that well, the stream must now be passing through Job's Well. The Rev. Mr. Williams, in his "Holy City," distinctly asserts that "it must be a *stream*," founding his assertion on the fact of the sparkling which is to be observed on the surface water when one looks down into the well. The latest topographical writer on Jerusalem thus alludes to our subject under the heading of "The stopping of the fountains and brooks" by king Hezekiah. He writes that "The fact becomes abundantly clear that the environs of Jerusalem were underlaid with pipes for the distance of five furlongs from the city. However this may be, there was a permanent running stream along the valley of Jehoshaphat; whence the name of the brook and the mysterious way in which the water is supplied to En-Rogel, the well at the junction of the three valleys of Jehoshaphat, Tyropaeon and Hinnom, may be referred to the same agency." *See* "Sketch of Jerusalem," Lewin, p. 39. In reference to it, Dr. Bonar says: "In the time of the heavy rains, when the Kidron pours in its sudden torrent and other secret tributaries find their way into its depths, it overflows."

By the way, he labours to show that Beer-Ayub is not a fountain, but a cistern, a well—therefore not the En-Rogel of Scripture; the arguments based upon this assertion are set aside by the facts elicited in my exploration quite as much as the universal idea of the underground river in search of which I went down. Even Dr. Thomson, in his interesting and valuable work, "The Land and the Book," adopts this popular notion, stating "that a *stream* seems to run constantly across it, and passes down the valley *under the rock.*" It may be supposed that this oft-discussed question was

revived at this time, and partly to set it at rest, partly to gratify my own love for adventure, I determined to take nothing for granted, but to examine it personally, and for this purpose to descend to the bottom, a feat never before performed by any European.

. . . .

The road from my home to Job's Well wound along the base of Mount Zion, the sides of which, overhanging the gorge of Hinnom, complete an amphitheatre as rich in interest as it is singular in formation. The wonted silence of this region was now broken in upon in an unusual manner. In consequence of the drought, I found all the bazaar sellers of water, important members of the trading community in a land no longer one of brooks and fountains, crowded around the well, eager to replenish their skin "bottles" both for the purposes of sale and to preserve them from drying and bursting. This skin (usually a goat's skin) is turned outside in, the leg parts tightly tied with thongs; sometimes a wooden nozzle, sometimes nothing, is added to the neck, out of which he gives you the cupfuls of water, which you call for and pay for as though it were precious wine. In the winter, when water is plentiful and unsaleable, oil, ghee (melted butter), and wine are carried in the skin. I do not recollect ever hearing that the skin is ever cleansed; and its *hairy* interior is certainly not non-adhesive. Such is a true outline of one of these influential folks, then, at the well. As I approached it with a gang of Arabs carrying the windlass, chain, &c., necessary for the descent, all hope of gaining my object died away. The sounds of contending voices; the jostling crowd of donkey-drivers; the donkeys gladly availing themselves of the opportunity of fighting out their unfinished battles (the most earnest piece of business, by the way, the said donkeys ever engaged in); the rush from the well of the heavy-laden animals, furiously driven by the half-naked savages at their heels yelling at one another, and screaming out to the hapless pedestrian after the animal has precipitated him to the ground, "Ouah wijjack" (Take care of your face); "Ouah rajjelack" (Mind your legs); "Deer-baleck" (Now then); apparently on the principal of "It's never too late to mend," the accident having already occurred; and, worse than all, the returning troops of donkeys and donkey-boys scampering down the dusty, rough, rocky track, each striving and struggling to be first back for a fresh supply of water from the well—all these circumstances combined to make it appear that it would at this time be impossible to effect the descent.

At first I thought of attempting it very early the next morning. "Second thoughts," they say, "are best." It occurred to me that the very demand for the supply of water would the sooner empty the well, and render it safe, as well as possible, to descend it that day. I therefore, with fresh spirits, pushed my way against the continuous stream of those water-laden donkeys; and finally, reaching the well itself, I sat down to survey the amusing scene, and decide upon my course of action. The Arabs had rigged up a double set of their goat-skin buckets to meet the pressing want. I encouraged their unusual activity by the promise of a "backsheesh" whensoever I reappeared from the bottom of that well. They shouted with delight, toiled in a marvellous manner, and at last a bucket came up as empty as it had gone down. My opportunity was come! We hastily removed the half-rotten gear of the natives, the windlass we had carried down was placed across the opening, the chain, carefully marked off in lengths of ten feet each, was arranged; a narrow board was made fast to it by four ropes, and swung over the dark depth waiting to receive me. As I gazed down, while placing myself upon this oscillating seat, I almost repented of the undertaking. However, it was too late to shrink back, so, sitting steadily across the board, I fastened a lighted lantern to one of the ropes by which it was suspended; to another a compass; to a third a thermometer; and securing a matchbox in an inside pocket, with notebook and pencil in hand, I committed myself to the guidance of my friend, the architect, who sat beside the windlass, and was then by the wondering Arabs slowly lowered into darkness and depths unknown.

The first thing that struck me was the solemn hush amongst the Arab crew overhead, as they steadily eyed the Inglese slowly sinking out of sight; the next peculiarity was the change of temperature from that of 95 atmospheric heat in this valley at 3 p.m.; I felt as if suddenly transported on a voyage of discovery into the heart of some iceberg. A few shakes—a few stops—some slips of the chain, and the descent gradually became quite a simple matter of business.

The north face was selected for examination in the descent, the south was left for the ascent.

The shaft of the well is oblong in form, consisting partly of masonry of two distinct periods, and partly of a bore passing down the rock. For the first forty feet down from the mouth, the workmanship is evidently modern, having been built with small, well-laid, square stones. The next thirty feet the work is of a very different

character, large, irregular, and massive stones, identical with the ancient masonry seen in the oldest portion of the walls near the Mosque of Omar. This portion of the masonry rests upon the living rock, through which the shaft continues for sixty feet downwards to the bottom of the well, exceedingly irregular in bore, full of projections, indented, and in many places worn smooth by the water. About ten feet above the spot where I came to a landing below, a very prominent edge forms a peculiar narrow funnel, opening into a wider space beneath, passing down through which, after receiving sundry bruises from the projecting points of the rocks, I at last left my uncomfortable position, and stood shivering with cold, and shouted out to my friends above the fact that I had reached the bottom of Beer-Ayub!

On looking around my novel quarters I found to the east a small cave or fissure about three feet by four high, and quite beyond the plumb of the well. In it there was a small heap of pebbles, a little pool of water unreached by the bucket, and an empty preserved meat case, which someone had made use of for lunch, even at such a spot, and then flung into the well. I most carefully searched for any inlet and outlets of a *stream*, and found none. I probed every chink that I saw—north, south, east, or west—in the rock; all, and they were but very small, tended upwards, and, by the lie of the clay and gravel in them, proved to be conveyors of water, permeating through the superincumbent soil into the well, as in all springs it does. None could be considered to be inlets for any stream. The soil was the same heavy red loam which we find on the hills to the south and west —the formation is limestone, the rock unstratified. Its greatest width below runs east and west. The rock has not a solitary trace of having been worked by any tool whatever. In no part of this, the rock portion of the shaft, has the well been formed by the hand of man. It is all naturally fissured, and worn by the water action, which now finds its chief vent into the well through a line of chinks right across the north face at the height of twenty feet from the bottom, bursting in after the manner of ordinary springs.

Ascending, the south face of the rock presents features similar to the north; but at the junction of the rocks and ancient masonry there is the appearance of an archway, very much broken and filled up with rubbish and large round stones or boulders, not unlike those

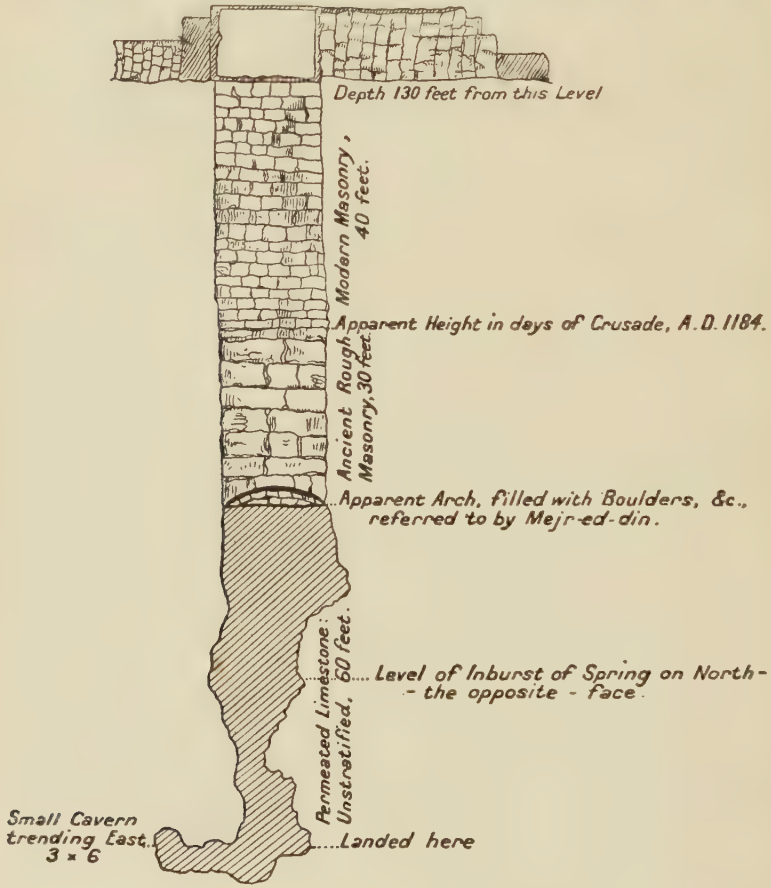
which are found in the course of torrents. This may be the entrance to the grotto mentioned by Mejr-ed-din, and must be the outlet through which the waters, when they rise over the rocky sides of the shaft, flow off, and break out at the opening lower down the valley called the "Spring of Almonds." The appearance of the water was always an occasion of festive gatherings and Turkish picnic parties, the overflow being the precursor of an abundant year, the necessary supply of the two, the early and later rains, having been graciously given.

My ascent had progressed very comfortably, and as I rose towards the summit my spirits rose too. I mocked the solemn silence by a burst of song. The Arabs, too, glad of the excuse, soon created a Babel of sounds, and overbusy with unnecessary advice to each other—safely to haul me up—forgot and forsook each his own post. The natural result took place. The chain slipped, the lantern tremblingly extinguished itself, my heart jumped into my mouth, and ropes and chains seemed for the instant to have snapped asunder, the giddy seat on which I was swinging and singing sunk under me to the depth of—a few inches!

I now shouted lustily to my architect friend to check the windlass, and to the Arabs to draw me up as quickly but as quietly as possible. No sooner did I find my head above the mouth of the well than, seizing hold of some friendly hand, I sprang forward into daylight, and on terra firma rejoiced to feel that my self-imposed task was safely accomplished. To my surprise I found that the news of my proposed adventure had attracted thither some of the residents in the Holy City, who bade me welcome to the bright sunlight, and congratulated me upon having personally brought the question to a decided issue, as I hastily showed them that no stream ever could or did pass underground through Job's Well.

Excited, drenched, and chilly, I mounted my horse, and galloped home as fast as he could carry me; and before the impressions faded away I reduced to shape the observations taken in the well, and constructed a vertical section, which presents to the eye somewhat of the appearance of an irregularly-formed letter J, the foot of the letter representing the cave, described as running towards the east. (*See* woodcut.) From the facts then elicited in this examination of Job's Well it is evident that there is not any running stream of water passing underground and through

the well. Also that it is as true a spring—a perennial spring, and so a "fountain"—as any other in the land, even as the


Depth 130 feet from this Level
Modern Masonry, 40 feet.
Apparent Height in days of Crusade, A.D. 1184.
Ancient Rough Masonry, 30 feet.
Apparent Arch, filled with Boulders, &c., referred to by Mejr-ed-din.
Level of Inburst of Spring on North-the opposite face.
Permeated Limestone: Unstratified, 60 feet.
Landed here
Small Cavern trending East. 3 × 6

— SOUTH SECTION OF EN-ROGEL OR JOBS WELL, JERUSALEM.—
Descended October 15th, 1847.

Virgin's Fountain, higher up the vale. The sparklings observed upon by Mr. Williams arise from the light falling upon and reflected off the surface of the spring as it bubbles up and rises nearer and nearer to the mouth of the well.

The two styles of masonry afford a striking illustration of the great physical change which has passed over this locality by reason of the inhabitants neglecting to preserve the *terraced* cultivation of the surrounding hills. According to Hugo, the mouth of the well at the date of the Crusades would be as much lower than it now is as the modern masonry rises over the ancient, *i.e.*, some forty feet, since the modern masonry is evidently constructed to keep the mouth above the level of the soil as it was washed down from the surrounding hills by the annual rains. We have an approximate measurement of deposit created in the course of 800 years, viz., some forty feet, pointing out to the traveller what great changes have taken place in the relative heights and depressions around Jerusalem, and warning him against forming a judgment from the present aspect of its hills and valleys.

The total depth of En-Rogel, or Job's Well, is about equal to the elevation of Nelson's Pillar in Dublin, viz., 130 feet; the supply of water that trickles in during twenty-four hours is sufficient to give the city about 300 donkey-loads a day—an amount equal, at twelve gallons per load, to about 3,600 gallons daily—a precious boon in that now "weary land."

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1922, *p.* 172.)

Arab Life.[1]

The morality, hospitality and honesty of the inhabitants have been greatly exaggerated by some writers, misrepresented by others; each has looked upon some special case. Burckhardt finds them very generous and modest, because they turned their backs "modestly" whilst the women were made to strip. Thomson calls them universal liars, thieves and robbers, who tyrannize over the women. He says "they are idle, smoke, and drink coffee, play

[1] [The reader is reminded that these sketches were written some years before the year 1914.—Ed.]

at games of hazard, of which there is no end, are filthy and foul-mouthed, uneducated and extremely proud." Lynch says of them: "The bar of iron may break, but not the words of an honest man." Stephens says: "There is no end of paying with them," and then, "he is not so bad as he looks to be," and he finds their logic justifiable: "The desert is ours, and every man who passes over it must pay us tribute"; but he calls them "breechless desperadoes."

Layard, who paid them royally, is very tender towards them, and seems to excuse everything they do. Everyone is right in his turn, and at the proper moment the haughty Arab is kind and polite, the independent sheikh submissive, the liar very truthful, the robber very generous, and the cruel warrior almost effeminate. With foes he might show all his bad qualities; with friends, on the contrary, he manifests the brightest characteristics, loyally protecting the murderer when under his roof, but treacherously destroying him when he is otherwise in his power, and in his Arab revengeful mind never pardoning an injury.

A sheikh of the Nimr, a tribe of the 'Adwān, was displaying his agility in a *jarīde(t)*, and was surpassed by a common Bedawy of the tribe. The women chanted the beauty of Nimr, but Ḥomeyed (حميد) was praised as a superior horseman, showing still greater skill. As in the case of Saul and David, Nimr swore vengeance to his subordinate. One day when he was out hunting he shot a gazelle and carried it into a cave in order to look for more game after having deposited it. To his great surprise Ḥomeyed was sleeping in the cave. He would not kill him treacherously, but woke him up, and said: "Prepare yourself, you cursed of your parents; your time is come." In piteous manner Ḥomeyed prayed for his life, saying: "I am in your hands, consider me as one of your women." Nimr could do nothing but swear to him that he would not kill him by his own hands, neither by his rifle nor by his sword. But he had noticed a *Dabaia* viper in a hole above the Bedawy, and said: "Put your hand into the hole, for your hour is come, and show your obedience." Ḥomeyed put his hand as commanded, and was bitten by the viper and died there a few hours afterwards. The vengeance was more terrible than mere killing.

Remorse (*tawbīkh el-ḍamīr*, توبيخ الضمير) and conscience (*edh-dhimmet*) are only words, and hardly ever affect the Bedawy, especially if after a murder he is afraid for his life, or in a theft he

has been cunning. Not even Dervishes, who have a certain framework of life and follow known principles and fixed laws, will take any initiative beyond hospitality, such as it is known to exist. There may be exceptions to the rule, but I have not come across them. When a man is asked upon his conscience (على ذمتك, *alla dhimtak*), to explain a theft, a murder, or anything else, he will answer whatever he pleases, and does not feel wrong if he says the contrary of what he knows to be true, so long as he does not swear. The *yamīn*, oath, alone binds him to speak the entire truth.

Hospitality, moreover, is not expected to be bestowed in full upon those who are not Arabs. There are many reasons for this. Europeans, for example, very often disdain Bedawy food, except when they are obliged by sheer hunger to accept it, and they cannot be expected to be treated as other Arabs. They are called *Consuls*, and the title excludes them in one sense from partaking of hospitality as it is understood; for, in point of fact, it is lent (*kurtat*, قرطة) and ought to be returned; and how and when could Europeans return it, who have no tents and never come back again?

The *jindi* (جندي) or Government official is an oppressor, and if he receives hospitality, it is out of fear, that is if there are towns near at hand; or he may receive none at all when far away. Therefore hospitality is really exchanged almost exclusively between Arabs, or Europeans in rare cases, who assimilate themselves to the Bedu, and give Arab suppers, with rice and lamb, and so forth, set before the guests in Arab fashion on the ground in trays, and if possible in tents.

The 'Adwān with whom I lived for several months were, to a certain extent, very nice fellows, admiring courage, enjoying shooting, giving and partaking of whatever we wanted and possessed ourselves. Certainly we had to share with them whatever we had beyond bread, on the same day of its arrival, either from es-Salt or from Jerusalem. Though we were good friends in religious matters, however indifferent they were to Mohammedanism, yet they owned that the most glorious death would be in the holy war against infidels.

We had to swim across the Jordan with our wheat and barley in a *kirby*. In those days (1874) there was no bridge, and many a donkey, camel, or man was drowned. The Bedu all swam across naked, with no thought of appearances; whereas I was more modest.

On one occasion I was molested and threatened by a Bedawy of another tribe for daring to be thus better than the rest. But while he thought my modesty an insult to every Bedawy, on another occasion another Bedawy was incensed and smote me on discovering that an uncircumcised Christian was in their midst. Their own behaviour before the *fellahîn* women is gross, and popular sayings reflect the low idea the *fellahîn* have of the wantonness (*'akrate*[*t*]) of the Bedu.

The Bedu language differs as we approach Sinai or Mesopotamia, and as we come into contact with the inhabitants of towns or villages. Many Bedu words resemble the Hebrew more than the modern Arabic; but when the bards on their one-stringed Rababy tell in song and in prose the tales of bygone days, it is pure Arabic as it is used in Palestine. One such bard (شعر), Sa'id el-Ma'ṭi, of the Ta'amry, was known from north to south of Palestine, and was always wandering about on his white mare (of more or less pure blood), from village to village and from camp to camp, fiddling away through whole nights, sometimes receiving a pound or two, sometimes a Medjidi or less, happy when he and his meagre mare were well fed. I last saw him in 1891, never as much as changing his features, a smile ever on his face, and ready to say some funny verses in return for a Beshlik. While fiddling he would announce from time to time that a cup of coffee would improve his voice, and very soon the drink would be handed round.

The following comparison of the three kinds of Arabic used in the town, village and desert will show how completely expressions very often differ, but in some cases are only pronounced differently :—

Bedu.	Village.	Town.	
Salaam 'aleikum (سلام عليكم)	*Salaam 'aleikum* (سلام عليكم)	*Es-salaam 'aleikum* (السلام عليكم)	Peace be to you.
'alfy (الفي)	*dūr* (دور)	*fūt* (فوت)	Come in.
ijlis (اجلس)	*etrieḥ* (اتريح)	*ek'ed* (اقعد)	Sit down.
weshzeyāk (وش زيك)	*kèf ḥ'alak* (كيف حالك)	*kif kēfak* (كيف كيفك)	How are you?

Bedu.	Village.	Town.	
ta'lahinna (تع لهنا)	*jāii* (جاي)	*ta'āl* (تعال)	Come here.
anttni (انتيني)	*hāt* (هات)	*a'tini* (اعتيني)	Give me.
hāk (هاك)	*khudh* (خذ)	*khōd* (خود)	Take.
haiti (هيتي)	*haini* (هيني)	*haini* (هيني)	Here I am.
'alāmak (علامك)	*shū bidak* (شو بدك)	*shū bitrīd* (شو بتريد)	What do you want?
kithā (كذا)	*haik* or *hātch* (هيك)	*haked* (هكد)	Thus, so.
kathīr (كثير)	*hōl* (هول)	*k'tīr* (كتير)	Much.
ḥawel (حول)	*enzil* (انزل)	*tīḥ* (تيح)	Alight (from a horse).
esra' (اسرع)	*esta'jel* (استعجل)	*ermah* (ارمح)	Be quick.
ghaleb el-kheir (غلب الخير)	*tchāfi* (كافي)	*bikefī* (بكفي)	It is enough (for food).
kuthar (كوثر)	*ruwaḥ* (روح)	*rāḥ* (راح)	He is gone.
zaḥ ibdinno (صح ابدنه)	*zaḥ badanno* (صح بدنه)	*'awef* (عواف)	Strength (*i.e.*, good day).
waish (ويش)	*shū* (شو)	*īsh* (ايش)	What?

It is rare to find any Bedawy reading or writing. The tribes in Philistia have a *khatîb* in the town next to their camp, who reads, writes, prays, and performs all religious ceremonies for them. But generally they go to Gaza. The Ta'amry and Wadiyeh have their *khatîb* from Bethlehem. The southern tribes go to Hebron. A Bedawy considers it disgraceful to write: they write with the point of the spear on their enemies' backs whatever they have to tell them. As a rule the Bedu pronounce the ك as *k* and the ج as *g* in *great*; the 'Adwan pronounce the ج as *g*, and often the ح (*ḥ*) as خ (*kh*), as in the Fella'hîn word طرحة, *ṭarḥa(t)*, which they pronounce *drîkha*; it means a portion of unthreshed straw prepared on the threshing floor.

One day I asked a Philistia Bedawy what he knew about numbers: what is a hundred? A hundred camels or cows was the answer. Well, as you like, I said, and I received his answer, *Meat bakra* (مية بكرة). I rose to two hundred and thence to three, and up to six hundred. Here he stopped, and said that he knew nobody to have so many cows. Well, say camels, I went on. I got him up to 5,000 camels, and again he refused to admit so many for a tribe or man. I urged him to say 10,000 without any animal, but he could not grasp the idea of 10,000 nothings. He said that in the first place it was sinful to count his animals, in the second place nobody possessed so many thousands, and in the third place it was nonsense to count *nothings*, and here our essays in arithmetic had to end.

The fellah is better versed in ideas of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, because the mountains and valleys present a greater choice of all kinds of trees, flowers, shrubs, and animals; but the Bedawy is superior in meteorology and astronomy. When the month of Ramadan was announced over all Syria and Palestine the nomads had to give the news of the appearance of the Crescent, the surest sign of the beginning of the month. Here again is another proof of the unchangeableness even in minute details in the different classes of Oriental society. The sacred writers have generally taken examples of the trees, animals, or heavenly bodies to illustrate their speeches, every one alluding naturally to those objects or animals which either struck him most in his surroundings or were more comprehensible to the people to whom they were addressed.

David, who was generally in the desolated mountains south of Jerusalem, fleeing from Saul, or pursuing the enemy, or wandering about with his sheep, has many images of his daily life and surroundings in the Psalms. Isaiah has more examples of town life, and Jeremiah takes his from the Fella'h. But Job has many Bedawy examples. He speaks of the horse, the firmament and weather, much more than any other book of the Old Testament.

The sea is kept back from overflowing the land simply by "divine might," *kudra(t) illahie(t)* (قدرة الهية), as seems natural when on the sea-shore, and the horizon seems higher than the observer. "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed" (Job xxxviii, 11).

Tent Life.

The Bedawy invariably calls his tent a house of hair (*bait sha'r*). *Bait* does not only mean house, but also family. The common curse in Arabian countries, *yekhreb baitak*, means "May your *family* be ruined," and is considered to be injurious only to a married man. In Hebrew the tent is called *ōhel*, which in the Arabic *ahl* also means family. Family and tent or house meant originally the same thing. The tent is called *kheyme(t)* only when it is the white canvas tent used by travellers; but the bedouins also call their tents *zīwān*. Some of the tents of the poorer tribes who live in the sandy plains about Jaffa are made of sack-cloth and are grey, in which case they are called *kheyshe(t)*; but most of the tents are black, being made of goats'-hair. Thus have they been for thousands of years: "I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar" (Cant. i, 5). The tent has the form of a black barge turned over, though not quite so regular, for the poles over which the hair-cloth is spread stick out at convenient distances, and give the roof an irregular shape. It is kept up by 5, 7, 9, or 11 poles, according to the importance of the tent. The cloth is made of goats'-hair, spun and woven by the women, in strips (*falj*) of a yard in breadth, and sewn together very tight, to form an impermeable shelter from the rain.

The front part of the tent is the *irwāk* at the door, the *rafe* is between the men and the women, the *me'nad* is the separation. The curtains (Jer. xlix, 29), *yĕrī'oth*, are made of goats'-hair, "as the curtains of Solomon" (Cant. i, 5). The poorer classes have a

mat for a curtain; it is called *kishk*. The woman's apartment is called *meḥram*, or the room of the Harem. The *meḳ'ad* is the sitting-room for men. The three poles in the middle are: *el-muḳdum* in front, *el-wāseṭ* or *'amūd* in the centre, and *edh-dhūry* (الذُّرِيّ) behind. The *'āmer* are the back poles, right and left. These together with the *wāseṭ* are the longest, and to a certain extent the foundation on which the whole rests. The right-hand pole is the *yad* and the left-hand pole the *rijel* (foot).

The ropes are bound to the top of each pole and fixed into the ground by the peg, *watad*, the *yāthēd* of Heber's tent (Judges v, 26). The camp is called *marāḥ* or *meḥlah* or *dār* (a circle). When it is soiled by the beasts, and the multiplication of fleas becomes intolerable, and the surroundings afford no more pasturage, the tents are pulled down and the men decamp. By the time everything is loaded on the backs of the camels the new camp has already been decided upon by the assembly before setting out. The new situation depends on the season: in autumn a sheltered camp, where the waters can do no harm, is looked for. In spring pasture is found almost everywhere; but in summer, when pasture is scarce and water distant, the choice is most difficult, and they have to put up with any place, however disagreeable it often proves. How barren such places may be we read in the threat against Babylon, "the Arabian shall not even pitch his tent there" (Isa. xiii, 23).

The new camp being chosen, the tent of the sheikh occupies the extreme left, and according to their number the tents are either pitched, *ḳād* or *naẓab*, in a line or in a more or less regular square, with the opening and the principal entrance towards the east. We read of "the wealthy nation, that dwelleth without care, which hath neither gates nor bars, which dwell alone" (Jer. xlix, 31), "their camels shall be a booty" (ver. 32). In point of fact they never bar the tents, but the ropes are crossed so that it is very difficult for a pedestrian, to say nothing of a horseman, to enter the camp but by the front.

The visitor goes to the guest's tent (*ṯhuwy* or *maḍhāfe*) in large camps, or to the tent next the entrance, which is supposed to be the sheikh's, where information is had or entertainment as food and lodging provided for. Sisera entering the camp of Heber went to the first tent and was received by the sheikh's wife, as the men were out, probably hunting or looting. She invited him into her

mehram and covered him with her rug (Judges iv, 18). Sisera knew well that the woman's apartment was sacred, the only place where he was safe from the pursuers. But her true character showed itself. Heber was on friendly terms with Sisera and Deborah, and Sisera did not expect to be treacherously murdered.

Abraham's camp, with 318 trained servants (Gen. xiv, 14), who were equipped by him, was one of the largest camps, and whenever he received a visit (Gen. xviii, 2), his tent being the first one, he was the first to observe the visitors and take them to his tent, or to the tree next to the tent, which in that case was the *madafe(t)*, where, in bedouin fashion, the guests were entertained. Abraham used the same modest language as a sheikh now would—"lean against the tree and I will fetch a morsel of bread." Sarah prepares the bread whilst he goes to prepare the calf (ver. 8). In true Bedu fashion, he neither asked them who they were, whence they came, nor where they were bound to; he doubtless took them for some sheikhs of his Hittite neighbours, and was accustomed to show hospitality to the passers-by. The tents of great sheikhs are often lined with silks of different colours, and valuable arms hang on the tent poles. Carpets and beddings, like the *hujra(t)* of the fellahîn, are spread on the ground. The kitchen utensils are fewer than those of the fellahîn, so that in decamping they are less troubled with luggage. The wheat is put in the black home-made goats'-hair sacks, *farde(t)*, which means "a single one," and which is generally put across the donkey. The *farde*, the Hebrew *sak* (Gen. xlii, 25), holds about 150 to 180 lbs. of wheat. Two are put on a camel.

The Ta'amry are generally to be met with their small donkeys and a *farde* of wheat or barley, which they bring from very far, sometimes from Salt. They have *time* enough, but little *money*. Jacob himself was a bedouin, but his children, who had married Canaanites, resembled the modern Ta'amry, impoverished, and the tribe greatly reduced.

The bread is generally unleavened and baked on the concave copper or iron plate, *sâj*, then called *khobez sâj* or *fatâ'ir*. The *kirby* is one of the great necessities of desert life, and the wooden bowls are always handy, either for preparing the dough or for *lebben* (milk). The hand-mill is very much the same throughout all the land of the bedouin from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic.

They are most particular about the coffee and its preparation. The coffee utensils, *'ede(t) el-ḳahwe(t)*, are in the sheikh's tent, and are public property. The Arabs are said to smell the least uncleanliness which may have touched the coffee beans before being roasted. Several sheikhs of the Beni Sakhr were visiting in a village and received the usual coffee in small cups; on smelling it, they declared the coffee soiled and asked for another preparation, which was readily granted, but the second decoction proved the same; the coffee utensils were brought and examined, and declared clean by the visitors themselves, but when the grains were examined a tiny millipede was found dead in the bottom of the jar, and had communicated to the coffee a noxious odour imperceptible to fellahîn noses.

The Bedu are also very fond of smoking, but only smoke a very short pipe; the cigarette is almost unknown. The fellahîn and townsmen smoke the arghileh or a long pipe made in the potteries in towns, but the bedouins have another form of pipe made of black stone. The *ruḥ* or spirit is longitudinal, the inner part being hardly wide enough for the index-finger to reach the bottom, whilst the fellahîn pipe, with its broad brim, is low and wider. The stem of the bedouin pipe is short, that of the fellahîn pipe is longer. Often the bedouin smokes his pipe with no stem at all, and puts it into his small leather bag, or *suffrān*, when done with. The tobacco is taken fresh from the plant, cut up very roughly, and put to dry in the sun for a few hours. The easy-going bedouin waits impatiently till it is dry, and often smokes it almost green, if the sun does not act quickly enough. Both Arab and fellahîn "drink the tobacco" (*bishrab et-titūn*); but whilst the fellah "lights the pipe" (*wale' et-ghalyūn*), the bedouin "sets the spirit in motion" (*'allek ruḥō*). In the Jordan valley, where they are out of government control, they plant their tobacco in cleverly concealed enclosures near the brooks in out-of-the-way places. Often, when the bedouin has no stone pipe, I have seen him cut a reed and make a green pipe of it, simply boring a hole through from which he would draw the smoke—both pipe and tobacco green, so impetuous is he sometimes.

To eat bread and salt is no particular ceremony, but is no less sacred. The *'aish wal-malḥ* of the fellahîn is the food partaken, which is never without salt, when on friendly terms. The bedouin says *mallaḥnā*, "we have salted," that is, eaten salted food together,

when even an enemy may be sure of his life, if he has partaken unawares.[1] But should he be known, and receive food without salt, he may prepare himself to receive either insults or to run the risk of losing his life, if blood is between them; for the bedouins, like fellahin, are very prompt to avenge themselves against murderers, and have always some old feud to settle, but they will not lightly provoke new quarrels and will take a life only for another one.

Besides the bread above mentioned, when there are no *faṭā'ir* ready a few handfuls of flour is quickly kneaded and thrown into the fire in round cakes. The *ḵurse* is the most indigestible kind of bread I ever tasted, but is thankfully received when none other is to be found.

However poor and needy, the bedouin will prepare for his guest whatever he can get, and should he positively know that he has to starve the next day or days the laws of hospitality are none the less rigidly held between them. Every respectable bedouin has a tinder-pouch (*meḵdaḥ*), by the means of which steel (*zināde*) and flint-stone (*ẓuwāne*) and the tinder (*ẓūfān*) they quickly light a fire, even in the most inclement weather, often with wet wood and a handful of straw. When there is only a spark in his tinder, it is often incomprehensible how he can patiently blow with his strong lungs till he succeeds.

A little wood is always found in the neighbourhood or along in the wady, and in extreme cases cow-dung is found, and is a good substitute for heating and even for baking bread, as the prophet Ezekiel found (iv, 12).

As a rule the bedouin is, and must be, content with very little food, nor do his dishes vary very much. In spring, when cows and goats give plenty of milk, the family enjoy all kinds of milk dishes. Wild herbs, being tender, afford many vegetables, especially mallow and the common nettle. If the winter is severe, and many animals would be too weak to endure it, numbers are killed and the half-starved beasts are eaten, so that often meat is refused for the simple cause of their being over-stocked. A fallen-down camel is also divided among the tribe, as it takes long to heal, and it does not pay to attempt it. Sweets are rare, but the bedouin is very fond of any kind—sugar, honey, and all kinds of pastry and preserved fruit,

[1] [Compare Ezra iv, 14, R.V., "we have eaten the salt of the palace."]

though he does not very often get a taste of these in some places. Sweetmeat merchants who venture among the camps with loads of *halawy* in the right season exchange their goods for lambs, wheat, *samn*, or cheese, which they sell again advantageously in towns. The bedouin has a sweet tooth and generally decayed teeth. Dried figs and dates are a dainty. The Ta'amry exchange them for dried milk in Bethlehem, though they are poor enough, and cannot enough indulge in the luxury. The townspeople and fellahin often pass several months in their vineyards and enjoy the summer fruits (*kaits*, cf. *kayiz*, 2 Sam. xvi, 1), and ironically say of the bedouin who has eaten a few figs, "I have passed a summer season." In the Jordan valley, where there are innumerable hedges, the Arabs gather the ripe berries of the *sidr* and rub them between two stones until all the edible parts have fallen off and the kernels are completely peeled. This is called *dejjeh* (دجّة), and is put away in a leather bag for winter use.

(*To be continued.*)

A TUMULT IN JERUSALEM IN 1652.

By Prof. R. A. S. Macalister, Litt.D., F.S.A.

The following graphic description seems worth making accessible in English. It is extracted from *Le Voyage de la Terre-Sainte*, by I. Doubdan, Canon of St. Denis in France: my copy is of the third edition, dated 1666. This work, though less attractive than a similar book by another French ecclesiastic, Morison, Canon of Bar-le-Duc (about forty years later, and one of the most delightful books of travel in existence), is of very great value by reason of its full description, with graphic if rude illustrations, of the various Holy Sites as they appeared in the seventeenth century.

R. A. S. M.

Short though the time be that I have passed in the Holy Land, I have learned that the good or ill fortune of the Christians there depends chiefly on the good or ill will of the Pashas and Cadis, governors and magistrates of the land on behalf of the Grand Seigneur. If these be peaceful, civil, and humane in character, they give opportunity to the Christians to practise both their religion and their commerce freely: who enjoy liberty to come and go and do as they please, so long as they do not contravene the laws and customs of the country. On the other hand, if they are avaricious (their most besetting vice), ambitious, and haters of the Christians, they become tyrannical, inhuman; to satisfy the mad passion that possesses them they cease not to threaten, persecute, outrage—to exterminate, if they can—all the poor Christians; and these have no shorter or more certain means of redeeming themselves from their troubles but their purses, which would soon run dry were they not aided by Christendom—merchants by merchants, ecclesiastics by alms and charity of the Faithful: this only just serves them to purchase freedom from barbarian tyranny. Now as these officials are hardly ever more than one year in their posts, changes are in consequence so frequent

that in the shortest possible time both good and evil can be experienced; that is to say, the easy and peaceful government of the one type, the tyranny of the other. The people, following the lead of their superiors, are in consequence of this so prone and liable to rebellion and sedition that at the least occasion, or under the incitement of malcontents, they never fail to act tragic dramas at the expense of the poor Christians. This can be illustrated by an event involving the ecclesiastics of Jerusalem, who thought they would have lost their lives; and, especially as it happened during my stay, I shall seek to describe it as clearly as possible.

In order to understand it aright we must begin some little time back. For fifty or sixty years the monks in Jerusalem had been unable to gain the consent of the Grand Seigneur to build, or even to repair and maintain, the Convent: this they could see was deteriorating daily for the want of slight repairs which without such permission they were unable to carry out. But at length they obtained the permit, last year [1651], as much by the diligence of the French ambassador at Constantinople as by the large number of sequins and piastres which they were obliged to give to the officials of the Porte (who worship such things). No sooner were the patents, well signed and sealed, received by the Convent, when the Governor and Cadi received notice of them, and they commanded the monks to produce them, that they might learn their contents and the nature of the permission. This was a little surprise for the good Fathers; for they had hoped that they could have kept the permits a secret till a more convenient season. However, they were obliged to submit them to the officials, who learned by their perusal that the monks were permitted not merely to restore the old buildings which were falling into decay, but also to build *de novo* an extension to accommodate the pilgrims, who sometimes arrive in considerable numbers. These two worthies, the Governor and the Judge, whose duty it was to authorise the permit, were delighted to find so good an opportunity of feathering their own nests. Not only did they give their consent, but they gave the monks a strict and absolute command to press on the work as diligently as possible, paying to themselves the dues which were their rights in such a case. This the Fathers did, after adventuring some excuses which proved useless: being compelled, they delivered up the money.

Now the Governor and the Cadi are not always so powerful as to be above the censure of the dervishes and the principal townsmen; of these there were several who could have caused trouble during the work, and it was necessary to buy them off at a high price. Moreover, the surveyors, architects, and master masons also wanted their dues. Altogether more than 20,000 *livres* had to be paid in dues, gifts, bribes, before a single stone could be obtained.

The money paid, nothing was now needed but materials and labourers. Of these latter the Fathers were obliged to take three times as many as were necessary; for no sooner was the door opened than instead of the poor Christians whom they had intended to employ out of charity, to give them means to live, all the ruffians, idlers and vagabonds, Turks, Moors, and Arabs, rushed in, will they nill they, and "worked"—as many as two hundred squeezed into a space so small that not one-third part did any work, the others getting in their way. Indeed, during a month that I was there I sometimes saw more than fifty spending the whole day in jesting, playing the fool, and wandering about the Convent: however, when the evening was come, they took good care to be fed and paid as though they had worked well. It is impossible to satisfy everyone in such cases: accordingly several of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who had not had anything to do with the affair, came in crowds to visit the works and began to grumble, and to say openly that it was wrong to allow the building to proceed: that instead of erecting new buildings they should have demolished the old ones: that the monks were making a citadel from which to lay the city in ruins, and that they would soon thus make themselves masters. Now it is true that, as the Convent is on the summit of the mountain of Gihon, it is much higher than the rest of the city, and from the terrace of the church almost the whole city can be easily seen. It is also unquestionable that when the old buildings were being demolished to make the new foundations, the more they dug the more discoveries they made of old vaults and caves, of which it was impossible to see the limits, buried in the earth. This made the workmen themselves, and many others, spread rumours that there were passages that ran a long distance out of the city by which Christians could be admitted secretly—some said that they went underground as far as Jaffa, fourteen leagues from Jerusalem, and there were even some so eaten up with malice and

ignorance as to assert that they went as far as Malta, and that the Maltese, their irreconcilable enemies, could by this means capture the city. But the wild absurdities thus circulated, both in the city and in the surrounding country, were endless, and were all calculated to hold the monks up to universal odium. In consequence there were many who said continually that the Convent should be razed and the Fathers massacred, or at least expelled from the city.

While these rumours were passing round, all through the month of April, these sons of Belial forged a new instrument to attain their purpose. Seeing that their first onslaught had no effect, and that the building was proceeding day by day, they started a new rumour through the medium of the riff-raff that were employed in the works, that on the 9th of April the leaden crescent on the summit of the dome of their great mosque called the "Temple of Solomon"—an object large, thick, massive, weighing more than three hundred pounds, and so firmly fixed that neither winds nor storms can move it—that on this day it had of its own accord turned four times from south to west, and that it had been restored as many times to its former position by a dervish who had ascended for the purpose. A council (it was alleged) had been held to determine the significance of this miracle. Some had supposed that God and Muhammad were wroth against them because they had allowed the monks to build, and that they needs must demolish the whole to avert the threats and the punishments of Heaven. Others said that this prodigy had a yet further significance—that it was a promise that their empire, so long flourishing in the East, was now to stretch to the west: that all the Christians were to become "Turks," and that they should begin with those who were in Jerusalem, compel them to accept their law, or else expel and exterminate them. Yet another party said that the monks were whispering in the Convent that it was a good omen: that the empire was coming to an end; that the Westerns and the Franks were to arrive in a short time to make themselves masters of the Holy Land and of the whole East; and that these "fortresses" were being built in order to aid them and to open the gates to them. It was therefore high time to apply the remedy: to level the whole building and to rid themselves of it so soon as possible.

All these conspiracies and rumours had but one end (as the event has proved): to excite a popular tumult, and to exterminate

altogether, as they said, this accursed race, these dogs and swine of Christians, who were filling this land and this holiest of cities with all manner of profanation and uncleanness. Their purpose was chiefly to make the rumours pass current in the Convent itself, in order to have wherewith to accuse the monks ; but the Reverend Guardian, most prudently, forbade all under his authority, monks and dragomans, to so much as speak of them, and thus to avoid giving any opportunity to anyone of trumping up a charge against them.

This was all, as it were, a covered fire, which broke out only at the end of April, the season of the Greek Easter, 1652. At this time the Muslims, imitating the Christians, also make pilgrimages in which troops of 5,000 or 6,000 persons, Turks, Moors, and Arabs, assemble together. Most of these live in the villages and the country places, devoid of Faith and of Law, with no more knowledge of God than the beasts. Of all their pilgrimage the chief is that of "Saint Moses," and this day they call the Feast of Sweetmeats : the day on which we set out to the Jordan we saw them going towards the Dead Sea, where they believe this holy prophet to have been buried, and where they still show his tomb. They go thither to honour his memory, and return thence to Jerusalem, which, like us, they consider to be the Holy City, in order to offer their prayers in the Temple, which they consider the holiest and most honourable in the world. There none is so boorish as not to buy sweetmeats—pastes composed of honey and some kind of syrup—which they carry home for their wives and children. Here it was that the mine was sprung, in the following manner.

On Wednesday and Thursday, 24th and 25th April, the dervishes and the malcontents of Jerusalem, after corrupting and winning the good-will of the lieutenant in charge, together with the mutinous multitude and the undisciplined loot-greedy peasants, made a general conspiracy against all the Christians, especially the monks, because they had erected their building, and also against the Cadi and the Pasha, because they had given them permission instead of preventing them ; and they determined to destroy them. As to the latter, who was absent, they contented themselves with shutting the city gates in his face, as we found when we returned from the Jordan. On Friday, the 26th, about 5,000 of these Pilgrims of Moses entered the Temple of Solomon at 10 o'clock in the morning, whence they began to rouse furious quarrels on this side and on

that, throwing themselves sword in hand on the Cadi, who, quite unconscious of anything amiss, was saying his prayers. Some shouted to "kill him," others not to do so: there was loud tumult and excitement, the prayers came to an end, and, taking advantage of a slight relaxation, the Cadi fled to his house, where he shut himself in. The mob rushed to force and to loot it; but, at the very door, their purpose was suddenly diverted, and, without stopping, yelling and roaring like tigers, they turned their course straight to the Convent of Saint Saviour, breathing out blood and slaughter. They surrounded the house on every side and sought to beat and force in the door with heavy blows of stones.

Now you should know that shortly before, the monks had been warned of the conspiracy by five or six Moorish women, neighbours of the Convent. These were on the terraces of their houses, and made signs to the Convent workmen that their throats were going to be cut, imitating with their hands the action of cutting throats as they spoke, and dancing with joy. Some monks and dragomans who were there, saw this and guessed that some evil was afoot; and immediately afterwards a dragoman, hearing the tumult in the city, ran there promptly to learn what it was, and returning with all speed informed the Fathers of what was taking place. Accordingly they secured the door strongly with bolts and bars and laid several large pieces of stone against it to defend it.

The barbarians began with unequalled fury and violence to beat on the door in order to break it in pieces, using stones and pebbles, while others surrounded the Convent and cast a hail of stones and pebbles at those on the terrace, so that they were almost overpowered. They could hardly appear without being struck. They had no doubt the advantage of height, so that they could simply roll the stones from above on to the crowd below; but these took care not to approach the wall so closely as to be injured. The outcry was so frightful, the blasphemies so horrible, the threats so terrible, that all the monks were filled with fear and trembling and were sure that their last day had come—so much rage and fury did they see on the faces of these barbarians, whose eyes were gleaming like mad lions, and who wished for nothing better than to slaughter them. Accordingly they all fled to the cellar, whither the Reverend Guardian carried the Most Holy Sacrament, which he had taken with all haste, and hid it behind wood and barrels, in fear lest it should be profaned by these impious folk with their sacrilegious

hands. They cast themselves where they could, crying out that it was all over with them. While they were thus in prayer, some of those outside were attacking below, and others defending themselves from assault from above: several of them climbed the walls of the court and of the garden, dagger in hand, to kill whomsoever they first met. Some were so bold as to climb up to the terrace, but they were bravely driven back save one, whom those within wished also to cast down, only that he cried out that he was a friend of the Fathers and wished to defend them But hardly had he set foot on the terrace than he seized a Christian by the throat, dagger in hand, and cried out that he would slay them all; and he would certainly have wounded him had he not been prevented by the others, who seized him and would have killed him had not a monk who had remained there prevented them. During the tumult the infidel women ascended to their house roofs with shrieks, clapping their hands in sign of joy, and screaming at the top of their voices to "cut all their throats!" Strong both in attack and defence, the great number and the violence of the enemies caused such terror inside the monastery that to all human appearance it seemed impossible to resist such an onslaught.

But God succoured them by means of a certain Arab horseman, in authority over those of his nation who were in the crowd. He came on behalf of the Cadi, who was a friend of his, with seven or eight of the Citadel guards. These drew off several of the mob; and an Arab chief, who had supped with us in Jericho, being there also, put all the rest to flight. Thus for the moment were appeased the rage and fury of these wicked peasants (atheists, without fear and without law) who had wished to eat their sweetmeats at the expense of the poor Christians.

The greatest good fortune lay in this, that among all these blows and so violent a hail of stones no one was killed. God had granted this for the sake of the monks, who in such a case would have been condemned to great insults and heavy fines, to redeem the blood of the slain, and to imprisonment of their persons.

This is the course of events while we were at Bethlehem; and, as we have seen already [in an earlier chapter of the book], the rebels, filled with anger and vexation at their failure, ran out of the city and maltreated the monks and the English whom they met. Since then all the infidels have had such a hatred against us that none of us dared any more to go abroad, and the monks were

obliged to let several days pass without going to say Mass on Mount Calvary or at the Virgin's Sepulchre (where they go every day), for fear of mishap.

Now, although the tragedy came thus to an end, and the fire seemed for the moment to be extinguished, it has not failed to be rekindled at the request not only of these same malcontent infidels, but also of the schismatic Christians. These, seizing an opportunity that presented itself, have inspired the new Pasha to torment and persecute the monks beyond belief, and to reduce them to such extremity by new vexations and injuries that they have been almost forced to abandon the Holy Places. We learn this from the perusal of a letter which R. P. Pierre Maboul, Vicaire of Jerusalem (who for 15 or 16 years has rendered great services to the Holy Places), has written to R. P. Michel Picouile, Commissaire of the Holy Land in France, resident in Paris.

The following is the substance of the letter:—

When the building had been happily finished, the monks were left in peace until the following September, setting aside the occasional necessity of averting the usual vexations that they received from the Turks. But the Patriarch of the Greeks and his nation have been inspired by an evil man named Anna, who had been for a long time dragoman of the Convent (but a great infidel): three or four years ago he had become a schismatic Catholic and had entered the service of the Greeks, and these had made use of him to persecute the monks. By false accusations and trumped-up charges these have so greatly incited the Pasha to persecute the monks, that one fine day he caused the dragoman, Jacob by name, and the porter, named Hebraim, to be arrested, and gave them such a cruel bastinado in his house that he left them half-dead and they were confined to bed for a long time. After this noble exploit he sent for the Procurator to treat him in the same way; and he would have wished to beat him half to death had he not been on a sick bed, and had not the Cadi opposed such violence.

Some days afterwards the Pasha had been invited by the Greeks of the Convent of Mar Elias, on the road to Bethlehem; and when he returned to the Government Residence he went straight with all his suite to Saint Saviour, where he found the aforesaid Jacob, still infirm from the treatment which he had received. Wishing to finish him off altogether he flung his mace at him with so much

violence that, missing him, it hit the wall behind and broke in two. However, he cried to his followers to carry out what he had failed to do, and they, rushing savagely upon this poor wretch, beat him so severely that they disabled one of his arms: this confined him to his bed for a long time, without being cured. The end of it all was that the people beaten had to pay a fine, and were obliged to give the Pasha 500 piastres for his trouble and other presents to his followers as a reward for working so well!

In December following the Pasha of Damascus sent one of his officers with 500 horse to visit the building, and his brother, with 200 other horse, to visit the church, in despite of the poor monks, who were obliged to pay the expenses of their journey. This cost them 20,000 piastres money down, which they could obtain only at high interest, with endless trouble. Hardly was this vexation passed when another arose, less expensive but fraught with much more annoyance and labour. At the end of January a new Pasha and Cadi arrived in Jerusalem, no less thirsty than their predecessors. The same influences began to work upon them: and a few days afterwards a couple of Dutch pilgrims arrived from Aleppo with rather more flourish of trumpets and martial display than was judicious in that country. This gave occasion to the Pasha to accuse them of being Venetians, enemies and spies, and to accuse the monks of being privy to their plans and of receiving their letters. To give the case the greater importance and appearance of justice, it was brought before the Cadi, who was in league with the Pasha to devour all the substance of the poor Franks. He decreed, notwithstanding all that they could say or do, that the monks and the Dutchmen should be confined to the Citadel as enemies of the State. Think to what an extremity of misfortune they could be reduced by a calumny so false and so grave! At last, in order to avert a yet greater storm, the monks were obliged to give, on their own behalf, 2,000 piastres to the Pasha, the Cadi, and others who were in the case with them.

About a month afterwards the Greek Patriarch, moved by mortal hatred against the Latin Catholics or the Frankish nation (as they call us), in order to have good ground for encroaching upon and appropriating the Convent of Bethlehem, as they had tried to do several times - they have already usurped the holy Cave of the Nativity and the Cradle of Our Lord—informed the Pasha and Cadi against the monks, that they were there coining false

money; that they had several secret places full of arms, and that they were plotting some enterprise against the State; and that they had a number of underground places capable of hiding and keeping in secret more than twenty thousand men: with other infamous calumnies which they invented. Accordingly, on the 22nd February the aforesaid Greek Prelate, having made large promises to the Pasha and the Cadi, conducted them himself, with their suite, to the Convent of Bethlehem, more than 200 men, who made an exhaustive visitation of the whole place, with horrible yells and howlings after their fashion. But with it all they found nothing on which to ground action but the cave on which the Convent is founded, built by St. Paula and St. Jerome; and it was there that they burst out into a torrent of insult and abuse, calling them (the monks) traitors and perfidious to the Sultan and to the country, in that they held a place so spacious in which to hide soldiers. So when they had exaggerated the facts, *more Turcico*, and vomited out against the monks present all the insults that the devil suggested to them, the Patriarch with his *caloyers* claimed insistently before the assembly that as these had been convicted of treachery and treason against the King and the country, the Convent should be given to themselves, as they were vassals and faithful subjects of the Sultan. They even produced certain documents to prove that the Convent belonged to them. To cut the matter short, one of two courses had to be chosen: either to abandon the Convent of Bethlehem and be driven out of it as infamous usurpers, or else to pay out large sums of money. This put the Holy Land [*i.e.*, the Convent] in such a condition that they had to pledge their silver lamps and candlesticks to raise this devilish imposition, which cost them 10,000 piastres.

This misfortune was succeeded by another on the following 16th July, at the hand of the same Pasha and Cadi. Knowing that the Reverend Guardian was gone to Constantinople, and being assured that he was seeking some aid against their tyranny, transported with rage and wrath, they went to the Convent accompanied by more than 200 people and made a thorough—and horrible—visitation, with insults, abuse, and vituperation against the monks, such that, as the Reverend Father writes, the human tongue cannot relate nor the pen set them down in writing. Finally, they made a written statement against them, just as they pleased, and with as many false witnesses as seemed good to them, and caused all the

chief inhabitants of the city to sign it; and then they sent it to the Grand Seigneur in Constantinople by three horsemen. God knows what would have been the end of the matter—some misfortune, without doubt—had His goodness not turned it aside. And to fill up the measure of these miseries, plague broke out in the Convent and in one day carried off eight monks.

We see therefore by this narrative that if the Christians have the consolation of seeing the Holy Places, they also suffer many misfortunes and have but little security. They are in constant danger of losing their goods and their lives, as they have always some entanglement with people wholly devoted to tyranny or to sedition.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology. By the Rev. J. S. Griffiths. Scott, London, 1923.

This little book consists of an energetic defence of the historical authenticity of the Pentateuch with special reference to the vexed problem of the Exodus. The author, who bases himself mainly upon the work of Mr. H. M. Wiener, gives some survey of the evidence, and concludes that "all the available data point to one year, and one year only, as the date of Israel's exodus from Egypt—the second year of Merneptah, 1233–1223 B.C.," so "the problem has been solved" (p. 77). The Dean of Canterbury contributes a foreword.

The Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism. By Harold M. Wiener, M.A., LL.B. Scott, London, 1923.

Mr. Wiener writes on the chronological and historical problems of the Hebrew prophets, with special reference, partly to the external evidence, and partly to the attitude of modern critics, against which he inveighs. It will be read with sympathy by those who share his position; but it cannot be said to remove those difficulties which weigh with those students who, with the best will in the world, are unable to accept the old pre-critical point of view.

The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. Vols. ii and iii for 1921–1922. Edited by Warren J. Moulton. Yale University Press, 1923.

The two annuals appear in one volume, are full of much interesting matter. Prof. Albright contributes articles on the historical geography of Palestine. Ekron he would identify with Ḳāṭra, 3 miles to the south-west of ʿA ir, the site usually identified with Ekron. Gath, usually located at Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi, he would place at ʾArāq el-Menshīyeh, 15 miles south of Ḳāṭra, reserving eṣ-Ṣāfi for Lībnah. The discussion is complete and shows how the new identifications suit the historical statements. In another section he deals with certain sites and names in western Galilee. Finally he considers the identification of Taricheae, which he identifies with Magdala (Mejdel). An interesting account of Muslim shrines in Palestine by Dr. C. C. McCown—the subject is an old one, but Dr. McCown brings together a good deal of valuable information on these the modern representatives of the "high places" and sanctuaries of the past. One notes, *inter alia*, that the lamps are still of the old type—an oval open bowl, pinched together a little at one end in order to make a holder for the wick. "The general resemblance is clear; the main difference is in the greater attempt at decoration in the older lamps." Mr. W. H. Worrell writes on sepulchral cup-marks, pools and conduits near Jerusalem. The question is raised whether they were for the purpose of providing the dead with water. This, admittedly, cannot be proved from the O.T. or Jewish literature, although, all things considered, it is the most likely explanation. Mr. Warren J. Moulton describes a painted Christian tomb at Beit Jibrin. Painted tombs are rare, and this is noteworthy for a couple of cocks painted red upon the wall, and various conventional emblems, also traces of peacocks, anemones, etc. "Peacocks represent immortality, on the supposition that their flesh was incorruptible. Cocks likewise were looked upon as standing for immortality, or as being heralds of Christ's coming." It will be remembered that in the Marissa tombs a cock was represented. Prof. C. C. Torrey discusses a few ancient seals, including among them those published by Mr. Pilcher, *Q.S.*, 1913, p. 145 *sq.* He also gives an account of the "scored pebbles" found about the Phoenician burial-grounds south of Sidon. The peculiarity is that the particular pattern on each stone was repeated on both faces—were these stones used in some game? Among

"epigraphic gleanings" contributed by Dr. C. C. McCown are two from Kadesh (Naphtali), which, it would seem, are new: the one is of a vow by the family of Turranius, the other, of the year 393, is the gravestone of Atellaios, son of Eukles (?). A Latin inscription found in the Lebanon, by Prof. J. A. Montgomery, is by Omrius Maximus to Jupiter Mo . . .

In the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Feb., 1923, Prof. Albright discusses some new identifications of ancient towns. New methods have come into use during this century —attention is paid to the vital difference between a *tell* and a *Khurbeh*, the philology has become more exact, and from the sherds strewn on every site, important inferences can be made as to its antiquity. So he deals with the sites of Jeshanah and Bethany, arguing that the former lies in the modern Burj el-Isānch and that the latter is Ananiah. He also gives a short statement on the Danish excavations at Shiloh, by Dr. Aage Schmidt. The stratification represents early Israelite, Seleucido-Roman and Arab ware. No Canaanite stratum was found and this fact does not favour the existence of a Hebrew settlement there before the Conquest. Destroyed apparently by the Philistines, there were evidently some houses there in the days of Abijah the Shilonite (Jeroboam I.). The author of Judges xxi, 19, deems it necessary to give an exact description of the location, and this explains the absence of Middle Palestinian (903–600 B.C.) sherds. But does it explain the existence of Shiloh even in Jeremiah's day (Jer. xii), and can one allow that the book of Judges, and especially ch. xxi, was compiled "probably about 700 B.C." ?

The April *Bulletin* contains some references to the provisional diggings at Malhah (about 2–3 miles south-west of Jerusalem on the slope of the Valley of Rephaim). The potsherds are "characteristically XIth century B.C.," and the tumulus excavated was of the same size, shape and date as the Thessalian tumuli of Halos—the pottery, too, is identical. Prof. Albright considers that he can show that the tumulus and tumuli were erected, not by natives, but by an invading army, "so the probability that they were raised by the Philistines during the age of Samuel, Saul and David is very great." The *Bulletin* points out that for the Bible students these provisional finds illustrate the operations of the Philistines as recorded in the books of Samuel, especially the campaigns of David summarized in 2 Samuel, v. "For the archaeologist in the Mediterranean civilisation

they give an added link connecting the Philistines with the far-off shores of the Aegean civilization." It need only be said, *apropos* of these most interesting developments, that the external evidence for the prominence of these invaders in the XIth century will not make it easier for us to find a place for the pictures of intercourse between (north) Israel and Judah at and before the days of Samuel and Saul. Archaeology, as usual, is not removing the problems of the biblical student, but placing them in a new and, as we hope, a clearer light.

A warm welcome must certainly be given to the new double number of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Oct., 1922, Vol. VIII, Parts 3–4 (Egypt Exploration Society, 25*s*.). Prof. Hunt writes on "Twenty-five years of Papyrology," and Sir Frederic Kenyon describes the average contents of a Greek library at Oxyrhynchus. Mr. Idris Bell gives a vivid picture of Hellenic culture in Egypt. Mr. Milne contributes accounts of (*a*) a gnomic ostrakon, and (*b*) the coins from Oxyrhyncus. The offices of the strategi and royal scribes in the Roman period are discussed by Mr. J. C. Tait. Full and descriptive bibliographies are given by the Rev. O'Leary, D.D. (on Christian Egypt), and Mr. F. Ll. Griffith (Ancient Egypt). Detailed reviews, always a feature of this journal, are contributed by Messrs. Crum, Hall and Griffith. Dr. Gardiner has a note on a stele of the earlier Egyptian intermediate period; some interesting Hyksos plaques and scarabs are described by Mr. G. D. Hornblower, and Dr. Hogarth deals with a number of engraved Hittite objects. Mr. Weigall maintains that the "mummy of Akhenaton," upon which is based the theory of the early age of the king's accession, is indeed the king himself, and not, as Prof. Sethe has argued, a stranger. Dr. Hall discusses the Egyptian transliteration of Hittite names, and, in another article, handles the relationship between objects recently discovered at Tell el-'Obeid in Southern Babylonia and analogies in Egypt. The American Professor, A. T. Olmstead, gives a handy conspectus of "Near-East problems in the second Pre-Christian Millennium." Prof. Sayce discusses the position of Arzawa, and Mr. Sidney Smith describes some Babylonian seals from Egypt. Folk-lore is represented by Miss Winifred S. Blackman, who writes on "Some occurrences of the corn-*'arūseh* in ancient Egyptian tomb-paintings"—this is no other than the "corn-maiden" familiar in Europe, and

the article is a new and suggestive contribution to the study of ancient and modern ideas of the cause of growth. Notes and News, and a brief notice of the late Ludwig Mitteis, by Sir Paul Vinogradoff, complete this admirable number.

The spring number of the *American Journal of Archaeology* contains much of general interest for Palestine. A careful article on "The Deities of the Sacred Axe," by Margaret C. Waites, deals primarily with this religious symbol in Greece and Asia Minor and Crete, but in view of the relations between these lands and Palestine and Syria, must be mentioned here. The axe is almost universally used among primitive peoples to denote thunder and storm-gods, and such gods were well known in Semitic lands. The Babylonians, however, used the trident, and in Assyria and North Syria we find the single-axed tool; but when we pass into the Hittite area we find a fusion of types. The chief feature in this article is the argument that the double axe is the symbol or property of a goddess.

Some account is given of the papers read at the General Meeting of the American Archaeological Institute at Yale, December 27th–29th, 1922. Prof. J. P. Harland, dealing with the Bronze Age of Hellas, finds the first distinct break at 1400 B.C. (not 1600); the "late Helladic period" (1400–1100) is inaugurated by the invasion of a new people—he calls it the "Achaean" invasion. It is an important turning point in the history of Greece even as the same period was no less important in the history of Egypt and S.W. Asia.

Prof. R. A. MacLean, on "The Aeroplane and Archaeology," gives two illustrations of the part played by the aeroplane in locating historical ruins, etc. Last summer he flew over some Roman ruins in Transjordania at Kasr Azraq, an old Roman fortress of the days of Trojan, and more or less inaccessible to the ordinary archaeological visitor. He saw an oasis of about twenty pools of clear cold water surrounded by remains of a Roman wall, although to the observer on the ground this wall could hardly be distinguished. Next, among the many lost cities of ancient times are Sittake and Opis, named by Xenophon; it is now established that that portion of the Tigris which lies to the east of Xenophon's Median wall had its bed about 15 miles to the west of the present bed of the river. "The depression seen from the air and the line

of mounds along the depression were the clues which led to what is thought to be the discovery of the sites of both Opis and Sittake." How the aeroplane has thrown light also upon the contours of Palestine will be remembered by the readers of the *Q.S.*

At the same meeting Prof. W. J. Hinke, of the Auburn Theological Seminary, gave an account of recent excavations in Palestine. He points out that one of the chief gains of the P.E.F. work at Askalon has been to define the character and limits of the Philistine culture, especially in its ceramics, from 1200 to 600 B.C. As regards the work carried on by the University of Pennsylvania at Beth-Shean, he states:—"In the walls of one of the houses a large marble block had been inserted with a Greek inscription, referring to the rebuilding of the town walls in A.D. 509–510 . . . . . The work during last summer was largely devoted to an examination of a necropolis north of the hill, which brought to light a series of clay coffins, with rude representations of human faces. They seem to belong to the XIIth cent. B.C." The American School of Oriental Research found at Tell el-Ful (the ancient Gibeah of Saul) a series of four migdols, or watch-towers, superimposed upon each other. The uppermost belonged to the early Maccabean period; the next, Dr. Albright proposed to ascribe to the days of king Asa (*see* 1 Kings xv, 22). The third had ten characteristic niches in its wall, and a massive staircase, and "seemed to belong to the period of Saul." "The lowest stronghold, with late Canaanite ware and bronze weapons, was destroyed by fire, as a thick layer of ashes, in places ten centimetres deep, indicates. Although the excavations at Gibeah were not rich in inscriptions and museum objects they were valuable for the archaeological and historical data brought to light."

In the April number of the *Révue Biblique*, R.P. Gaudence Orfali gives a full account of the Jewish tombs at Bethphage with the graffiti, and drawings of the decorations. R.P. Abel describes a Byzantine crypt at Beth Jālā, with plans and illustrations. "The archaeological year 1922 in Palestine" is summarized by R.P. Vincent. He deals first with the new chronological classification, to which the attention of our readers was drawn in the last issue of the *Q.S.* (p. 54 *seq.*). He points out that the two terms "Canaanite" and "Palestinian" have been finally adopted in order to distinguish the change (*c.* 1200) due partly to the introduction of new peoples, who profoundly transformed

the civilisation of the land, and partly also to the introduction of iron. The importance of this should be noticed. We have to think (archaeologically, that is) of what was primarily a "Canaanite" land—it would not really matter much if we called it "Amorite"—but when we pass to the Early Palestinian period (1200–600 B.C.) readers will notice that we have a Philistine age before the Israelite (*see* p. 55). In other words, what we may call *distinctively* "Israelite" comes *after* the Philistine period; it cannot be traced before it. And this is practically in accord with the result when we look at the land from the purely historical point of view. The agreement of the archaeological bias and the historical bias is significant. To return to Father Vincent. He notes that the present tendency now is a readiness to throw back the civilisation of Palestine to an earlier date than has been in vogue. This is true: the romance of Sinuhe gives an excellent picture of life in Palestine or Syria about the XXIInd century B.C., and, much earlier, the tomb of Inti depicts a characteristic raid on a place whose name, compounded with Ain ("well"), shows that a Semitic language was already in use (*Camb. Ancient Hist.*, i, 226).

The Homiletic Review, June, cites the *Rossegna Italiana del Mediterraneo*, reporting the discovery of what is said to be the genuine tomb of St. Stephen at Beit Jemal. A fifth-century legend states that the body of the first martyr was rescued by Gamaliel and buried in the latter's own tomb at Kapher Gamala, the place in question.

Palestine Peasantry: Notes on their Clans, Warfare, Religion and Laws. By Mrs. E. A. Finn. Marshall, London. *Emmaus Identified.* By the same. Printed for the Author at 75, Brook Green, London, W. The former of these consists partly of matter printed in the "Leisure Hour" many years ago, and partly of matter published for the first time. The late Mrs. Finn was the wife of a former British Consul for the whole of Palestine, and a frequent contributor in the past to the *Q.S.* The latter of the above was written by her husband for the Jerusalem Literary Society, and afterwards republished in the *Q.S.* It is interesting to remember that this Jerusalem Society, which was founded in 1849, was the parent of the P.E.F. itself. Both little books will find many readers. The former is of special interest to-day,

especially as Mrs. Finn reaches the conclusion that "the present rural population of Palestine, the Arab fellaheen, are descendants of the ancient Canaanitish nations." This is, of course, a not uncommon view, and it is worth while observing what it means historically. It means that the development of life and thought, which we, from a study of the Bible, consider to be specifically Israelite or Jewish, unfolded itself upon a canvas which has remained relatively unchanged. The old canvas still shows through the coatings of paints it has received—whether these be at one time "Israel" or at another "Islam." It is instructive to see how the deeper study of Palestinian archaeology, history, and custom is gradually bringing us new ideas of the history which are of no little significance when we approach the controversial problems of modern Palestine.

There have been some interesting articles in recent numbers of *Bible Lands*—the quarterly paper of the Jerusalem and the East Mission—to which attention of readers may be drawn. In the January issue is a full account of Canon Danby's lecture on "Mind *versus* Emotion in Judaism," which is followed up in the April number by his lecture on "Hasidism: present-day Jewish Mysticism." Both are useful contributions to a better knowledge of Jewish psychology, ancient and modern. The April issue also reproduces some pictures of Mt. Sinai from Mr. Sutton's book, *My Camel Ride from Suez to Mt. Sinai* (1913). Mr. Sutton regards Jebel Sufsāfa ("mountain of the willow") as Mt. Sinai, and not Jebel Mūsa. He says: "A more perfect spot for the encampment of the Israelites could not be conceived. Many times their number could encamp here, and all in full view of the mountain." The summit is nearly 7,000 feet above sea-level, and the plain of el-Rāha 5,000 feet. Behind lies Jebel Mūsa, too far off to be visible from any part of the plain.

S. A. C.